

Thomas Speaks on Pacific Hook-up Saturday, Sept. 15

TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas
Socialist Candidate
for President

It is rather amusing to see the joy with which wets who talk of the inalienable right of a man to drink hall Smith's proposal which entails a vast amount of social control, affirms the rights of states to enforce prohibition and promises rigid enforcement of the present law while it stands. This last promise and the Governor's opposition to the saloon are, justly or unjustly, taken with many grains of salt by the country at large which remembers Smith's legislative record as a friend of the saloon and wonders why the presidential oath should inspire a zeal for enforcing the 18th amendment which the gubernatorial oath conspicuously did not.

But I pass these matters to consider the Governor's modification proposals. The situation he wants to clear up is as bad as he says it is. I wish his or any other remedy would be a practicable cure but I confess to increasing doubts. I have previously said that as a citizen I should like to see states that want to create a public authority for the sale of light wines and beer. I should not include the hard liquor which the Governor adds, partly because I think that it might well be prohibited in modern society for the social good, and partly because the bootlegging difficulty between states which will be considerable in the case of light wines and beers will be enormously greater in the case of hard liquor which is more easily smuggled.

My chief objection to the Governor's program is that it will not take prohibition out of partisan politics where as he admits it does not belong, but puts it in with a vengeance. First the Volstead Act, then the 18th Amendment are to be changed to permit a rather complicated dual national and state control. Sentiment in the South and Middle West has already crystallized against any such proposal. The Governor in spite of himself, would drag his party into at least a generation long fight that would obscure all other issues on which parties should divide. That he can't carry his party the protestations of Democratic dries makes clear.

If Governor Smith really wants to get prohibition as far as possible out of partisan politics why does he not join me in demanding that all questions of modification be referred from the beginning to a special national referendum vote? (According to his speech he would only resort to the referendum in states at the very end of his program to decide on state prohibition). A national referendum would be extra legal but the parties could if they would agree to give efficacy to its results especially so far as the Volstead Act is concerned. This plan may be as panacea but it's the best that I can see in a situation where avowed nullification, real enforcement, or the Governor's program or modification all seem in the present state of the public mind to be impossible. At least a straight referendum might encourage an educational discussion and the formation of constructive opinion which would help toward a better solution than my recent travels and observations encourage me to expect in any near future.

Honest wets will not vote for Al Smith, any more than honest dries will vote for Mr. Hoover, who promises "to continue" to enforce prohibition laws which were never at any time enforced by the administrations of Harding and Coolidge.

IF Russia had not signed the military treaty, almost from the start that attack on war would have been a melancholy failure. By signing, even though they were not asked to be among the fifteen principal signatories, the Soviet leaders have put themselves in a position again to raise the disarmament question. What is the use of competitive armaments if war is outlawed? A newspaper report says that President Coolidge will push the big navy bill when Congress meets in spite of and maybe ahead of the ratification of the Kellogg treaty. If he does he will strangle his administration's own child and give the Russians whom he

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Six Large Stations Will Broadcast Talk of So- cialist Candidate For President

THE first of two large radio hook-ups for Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president, will be used on Saturday evening, September 15th. On that day Thomas will speak over a network of the six largest stations on the Pacific Coast.

Thomas will broadcast from the studio of Station KGO in San Francisco. He will be on the air for a half an hour.

The complete hook-up, which includes all the Pacific Coast stations on the "red network" of the National Broadcasting Company, follows:

KGO—San Francisco.
KPO—Oakland.
KFI—Los Angeles.
KGW—Portland, Oregon.
KOMO—Seattle.
KHQ—Spokane.

The Western hook-up is the first of two big radio hook-ups over which Thomas will be heard, according to present plans of the Socialist National Campaign Committee, which has arranged for the radio addresses.

Instead of having a nation-wide hook-up, which would include stations in the east and west, the campaign committee has broken the hook-up into two instalments. This action was taken because of the wide divergence in time between the west and the east. The committee wants Thomas' address to go on the air at a time when most listeners will be available.

The exact time of Thomas' address on Saturday, September 15th, has not been determined. Comrades within the area of these stations should watch the radio programs in their local papers for announcement of the time.

Labor Paper Retracts Attack on Brookwood

LANSING, Mich.—"Sorry!" exclaims the Lansing Industrial News in withdrawing its attack on Brookwood Labor College. The paper, which is the official organ of the Lansing Trades & Labor Council, strongly incenses the school to atone for the mistaken attack of the previous issue. It says:

"We regret that last week in the editorial columns of this paper there appeared under the caption, 'The Reds Still Bore Away', an editorial which in no way reflects the opinion held by the management of this paper. Its appearance was due to the failure of a member of the staff to follow instructions. 'The Brookwood Labor College is the object of the attack in the editorial. We have always regarded Brookwood Labor College as an institution worthy of the support of all progressive men and women and nothing has occurred to change our opinion in this matter. We are conscious of the attitude assumed by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor in this matter but we also realize that the decision of the council was taken ex-parte, a procedure much deplored by all unionists when followed by courts issuing injunctions in labor disputes. 'What the final outcome of the case may be we do not know but we still retain our opinion that the executives of Brookwood Labor College are men and women entitled to the utmost respect and possessing a desire to do all that they can to aid the working people of America to secure better standards of living through the trade union movement'."

Mill Workers Seek Five Day Week

MOUNT VERNON, N. Y.—While President Green was urging on the state labor federation convention the importance of the five day week as labor's next demand, 300 mill workers of Westchester county downed tools to gain the shorter work week. They demand 40 hours to replace the present 44 hours with no reduction in pay. The scale is \$9.50. Union carpenters already enjoy the five day week. They will refuse to use lumber not handled by union mill workers. Westchester is engaged in a heavy building program, due to the New York suburban development. The county lies immediately north of the metropolis.

The Call To Duty With The Nation to Organize The Prime Need Is Funds; An Appeal to Readers to Take Lead

TO our Readers and Friends:

We are now entering a phase of the electoral campaign that is of especial importance to you. Since the convention in May which nominated our standard bearers, Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer, the Socialist Party has been engaged in some preliminary work that required first attention. The National Campaign Committee and the National Office had to help weak and unorganized states. The more pressing problems of this work have been solved and we now face other important tasks.

You will never know the anxious hours spent, the labor of men in the field, and the financial worries that faced your comrades in completing the preliminary work. Our movement had grown weak because of years of persecution. Then we lost our official standing in many states because of making way for the LaFollette tickets in 1924. We had to nominate in many states by petition. Field workers had to be sent into the states. This work was a heavy expense. A few sympathetic organizations and groups of devoted individuals bore the burdens.

There is still some of this work to be done but the big job now is the educational campaign. The party managers have refrained from asking the army in the field to help bear the cost of the preliminary work of organization and filing of tickets. It has cost a large sum, but in addition to this work hundreds of thousands of excellent leaflets have been printed. Norman Thomas has covered one section of his tour, and a masterly campaign manual of 310 pages, "The Intelligent Voter's Guide," has been published.

The Hardest Fight Begins

So education has accompanied organization work, but beginning with September the campaign work will bulk larger each week. If we today had the funds we were compelled to use in work of organization and filing tickets we would flood the nation with speakers and literature. We must have as much and more for the real campaign.

The National Office at Chicago must have help. The various states must be helped. Thomas and Maurer and other speakers must be financed. Locals and branches must be strengthened and new ones organized. Millions of leaflets must be printed and distributed. The National Campaign Committee must have funds. So the important call which we have withheld since our national convention is now before you.

An appeal for funds is being mailed to hundreds of thousands of friends all over the nation and for the purposes stated by the National Campaign Committee. The contributions will be divided between the party divisions men-

tioned above. Particulars are outlined in the call which you have received. If you have not received yours it has gone astray in the mails. In that case, write to the address mentioned below. Get your list and then get every contribution that you can.

The National Campaign Committee and our standard bearers, Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer, earnestly appeal to you to consecrate yourselves to this work. This is no time to pinch a dollar if you can spare it. Too much is at stake. The politics and the politicians of the old order of capitalism have reached their lowest depths of degradation. Their struggle is to determine which shall rule the republic in behalf of the great banking and capitalist interests. An oligarchy of federated capital is as surely the owners of the two parties as it is master of the industrial life of the nation.

Give Us The Opportunity

Absurd as some of our national elections have been we do not subscribe to the Menckevite view that we are a nation of fools. On the contrary, there is as much potential intelligence among the masses here as there is in any nation abroad where Labor and Socialist parties have a great measure of power. Give us an opportunity to flood the distressed farmers and workers with our literature and speakers and we can stage the beginnings of a political revolution. We must have that opportunity. You out in the field alone can provide it.

We have nearly 400,000 names of men and women who have fought the good fight for some phase of human liberation. This editorial will reach only The New Leader section of this army. The cost of reaching these 400,000 is alone great. We are ambitious. We want to raise the largest fund ever raised by a third party in this country. We want no less than a hundred thousand dollars!

Now go to it. Don't ask for dimes. Get dollars and as many of them as you can. Fill your list and get another one. Send in lists as rapidly as you can. Make your own contribution as large as possible and set an example to others. If you are "broke", borrow. You will never contract a loan for a more noble or more important purpose. Our aim, we repeat, is a hundred thousand dollars. We may not get it. We may get more. It all depends upon what YOU do in the next few weeks.

Collect from your friends. Collect from organizations where possible. In the shop, on the street, in your homes, everywhere gather contributions.

Do your work as one of the 400,000. Send the fruit of your work to the Socialist Campaign Fund, The New Leader, 7 East 15th Street, New York City. Every cent will be acknowledged and accounted for.

A. F. L. Control of "Labor Vote" Called A Myth

Leaders' Inability to De-
liver Voters Is Notorious
—Non-partisan Policy
Key To Impotence

By Backstairs Spokesman

THE endorsement of Al Smith by the New York State Federation of Labor was to be expected. Members of the Executive Board holding office under Tammany Hall shouted down all opposition and jammed over the endorsement which, of course, makes a joke out of the non-partisan policy of the American Federation of Labor.

Abraham Lefkowitz of the Teachers Union had the guts to stand up and inform the delegates that he would vote for Thomas and the Socialist Party. For, said he, labor without a political party of its own, is "tied hand and foot."

Those who remember a bit of political history can figure just how much this endorsement may mean when they recall that in 1924 the New York State Federation first endorsed La Follette. Then as the campaign went on and the Tammany job-holders inside the Federation began to do their dirty work, a rump meeting was held in some back-room and a few days before election it was suddenly announced that the Federation preferred John W. Davis to La Follette.

The Endorsement in 1924

This last minute piece of skull-duggery so typical of Tammany in labor politics got no votes away from La Follette and served only to sicken

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Union House Aids A. C. W. Fight in Milwaukee

MILWAUKEE.—Civil war between clothing manufacturers has broken out with Milwaukee as the battlefield. Hart Schaffner & Marx of Chicago, biggest men's clothing makers in the world, are fighting David Adler & Sons Co., biggest in Wisconsin. It is not a fight to the death, as the Chicago concern will abandon its temporary Milwaukee factory as soon as the Milwaukee firm restores the status prevailing before it locked out 800 union workers last April.

Hart Schaffner & Marx will employ the locked out unionists under union conditions until Adler is willing to take them back again on a union basis. Then, with labor conditions once more equalized between Chicago and Milwaukee, the civil war will end.

"This marks a new course in relations between employers and the union," says national organizer Leo Krzycki of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. "The Amalgamated has in the past year and more come to the assistance of union operation and bank credit. In one case a loan of \$80,000 helped the firm to pull through and thus the jobs of all the members of our union in that town were saved to them." The city referred to is believed to be Baltimore.

Now the greatest firm in the industry regards it as highly important that a large firm nearby shall not disturb the stability of labor relations by breaking its contract with the union as the Adler Co. did.

"Adler had satisfactory union relations for the past 10 years when it suddenly decided to go open shop and scrap its agreement," Krzycki explains. "Naturally the union will use all its resources to defeat such a policy." The Chicago union has voted \$25,000 for the Milwaukee fight and the temporary Milwaukee shop of Hart Schaffner & Marx is an important new factor in the struggle."

Thomas Leaves On Western Campaign Tour

Presidential Candidate in
Twin Cities This Satur-
day—Will Go to Pacific

NORMAN THOMAS, Socialist candidate for president, left New York, his home state, this week for the second of his campaign tours. His first stop was Superior, Wisconsin, on Friday. On that day, Thomas addressed a meeting in Duluth, Minnesota. The dates of the second Thomas tour, with the balls, follow:

September 7th, Friday, SUPERIOR, WISCONSIN.

September 7th, Friday, DULUTH, MINNESOTA, at the New Moose Temple, 418 West Superior street; 8 p.m.

September 8th, Saturday, ST. PAUL and MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA: four meetings scheduled, one near the state fair grounds, another at the Garrick Theatre, 40 South 7th street, at 8 p.m.

September 9th, Sunday, FARGO, N. DAKOTA, at the Fargo Theatre, Broadway, 2 p.m.

September 10th, Monday, BUTTE, MONTANA, at the High School Auditorium.

September 11th, Tuesday, SPOKANE, WASHINGTON, at Masonic Temple, Riverside and Madison.

September 12th, Wednesday, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, at the Olympic Theatre, 1417 Eighth avenue.

September 13th, Thursday, PORTLAND, OREGON, at the Labor Temple, 4th and Jefferson streets, 7 p.m.

September 14th, Friday, SAN FRAN-

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Socialists File In 27 States; Ohio Electors On

Ohio Socialists File Presidential Electors

Just as The New Leader goes to press, it is announced by the Socialist National Campaign Committee that the Thomas and Maurer electors have been filed in Ohio. This was the most difficult state of all for the filing of Socialist electors. Fully 18,000 signatures were required. A number of organizers were sent into the state by the national campaign committee, who worked with the local comrades.

Thomas In New Bedford Labor Day

Holiday Is Widely Ob-
served in Industrial Cen-
ters of Country

LABOR DAY, fought for 40 years ago and won by strikes on the job and united action at the polls, gave untold millions in the east their last outing holiday of the year when industrial centers of New York, Boston, Philadelphia and other cities emptied into the surrounding countryside.

Organized workers, save for the transportation trades, left New York Friday evening or Saturday morning en masse for the beaches and mountains. Better paid than most workers, they gave their families a three-day respite from the city's heat and smoke. More poorly paid workers spent their nickels for standing room on Coney Island, where nearly a million persons enjoyed labor's hard won holiday. Little credit however went to the trade union pioneers of the 80's and 90's who battled for recognition of the first Monday in September.

New York labor officials and political leaders were the guests of Maj. Gen. Hanson Ely at Fort Hamilton. President John P. Ryan of the Central Trades and Labor Council rejoiced in fair wages and better working conditions enjoyed by organized workers while Brig. Gen. Hugh A. Drum warned that a small army tempted foreign nations to war on America and bring her labor conditions down to theirs. Others spoke for repeal of the Volstead act, warned of injunctions and Communism and sought relief for unemployment. About 3,000 attended.

Thomas in New Bedford

Plans for parades and open air meetings squelched by the rain, workers in strike-torn New Bedford, nevertheless attended Labor Day rallies in half a dozen halls, including the largest in the city. Labor delegations from all parts of Massachusetts were in the city to encourage the strikers for the hardest part of their struggle, which lies just ahead. Returning home, they will make New Bedford an issue in their cities to speed up relief work.

Norman Thomas, Socialist presidential candidate, invited Smith and Hoover to lay their programs before the textile strikers, whose votes they crave. "You fight not only your own battles," said Thomas, "but the battles of the working class. You prove that the spirit of the workers is not dead, that they know how to stand together and how to fight."

"You warn greedy employers everywhere that they cannot afford to cut wages, that they cannot forever take the price of their own wastes and mismanagement out of the mouths of the children of the workers."

Scranton, Pa., in the heart of the anthracite, witnessed its first Labor Day parade in 14 years. Defying rain, 6,000 unionists led by a dozen bands marched. Seven hundred carpenters in blue shirts and gray caps were the hit of the parade. Organized news writers enjoyed their own celebration.

Kennedy Hits Communists
Secretary Thomas Kennedy in a Labor Day statement widely circulated in the anthracite, called for a more vigorous fight against communism. At Wilkes-Barre, President Casey of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor called for the 6-hour day and the 5-day week to relieve unemployment. He denounced the "great combination of capital that is seeking to destroy our movement" and

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Campaign Committee Ex- pects To Have Thomas Electors in More Than 40 States

THREE short months ago, the Socialist National Campaign Committee set about accomplishing its hardest job,—the placing of presidential electors on the ballot. It was an almost insurmountable problem. For many years perhaps half of the 49 states had not had regular Socialist state organizations. Records have been lost or misplaced. Most serious of all, had been the sacrifice made by the Socialist party during the La Follette campaign of 1924. In many states the party had worked to put the La Follette electors on the ballot, at the same time sacrificing the official political standing of the Socialist party.

With the determination that Thomas and Maurer electors must be on the ballot throughout the country, the campaign committee set about the work. Some preliminaries had been accomplished by Julius Gerber and National Secretary William H. Henry, when the Campaign Committee took over the work.

National Campaign Manager G. August Gerber tackled the hard task with characteristic vigor. In a few weeks more than 20 organizers had been put into the field. Each was armed by Campaign Headquarters with hundreds of names of prospective aides. Into territories where Socialism had not been heard of for years, where old comrades had been dispersed and new ones had hesitated to come together, Socialist organizers worked their way.

The Work in the Field

Murray E. King took up the work in Arizona and in New Mexico where the war-hysteria had broken it off years ago. Clarence Taylor invaded Arkansas at a time when all political interest seemed to be monopolized by the fight on evolution vs. fundamentalism. Mary McVicker, John Brown, John Thobe, and others worked in the South. Emil Herman, before and after his serious illness, in the north-west, Joseph Sharts, Joseph Bernstein, Esther Friedman and others in Ohio, the most difficult state of all. The list is three or four times as long as that. There was C. H. Cammans and George C. Hiber in Idaho. William O. Toole in Maryland and Delaware, Ross Magil in Kansas, Joseph Bernstein in Michigan, Thomas L. Buie in Oklahoma, and up in the New England states Alfred Baker Lewis, Louis M. Clay, and Wendel Warrington. Energetic veteran J. Mahlon Barnes did almost impossible work in the Dakotas.

As a result of the faithful labor, amounting almost to a daily drudgery, ringing doorbells, traveling miles in the country to find out, perchance, whether an old comrade was still with us—the Campaign Committee has been able to announce that in all probability Thomas and Maurer electors will be on the ballot in more than 40 states. When it is remembered that in 1920, with Debs running, and the party still with most of its old-time strength, we were only on the ballot in 41 states, it will be seen what a remarkable piece of work has been done.

Campaign Manager Gerber has announced that 26 states have already filed, that in all likelihood, 14 more states will be filed by October 7th, and that there is a fighting chance in all of the remaining eight states. Here are the 26 states in which the Socialist party is already on the ballot:

Alabama	Arkansas
California	Connecticut
Delaware	Idaho
Illinois	Indiana
Iowa	Kansas
Maryland	Oklahoma
Michigan	Oregon
New Jersey	Pennsylvania
New Mexico	South Carolina
North Carolina	(74 counties of 100)
New York	South Dakota
Utah	Tennessee
West Virginia	Texas
Wisconsin	

Of the remaining states, the time for filing for all but Nevada has not arrived. In Nevada there may be some difficulty, but the campaign committee will make every effort to get on the ballot there.

FISHERMEN WIN 3-DAY STRIKE

VANCOUVER, B. C.—1500 salmon fishermen in southern British Columbia waters won a 12 per cent raise in prices for their catch after a 3-day strike. 1000 whites and 500 Japanese struck in perfect solidarity.

Mary Hapgood Helps Relief Work In Mass

By Helena Turitz

NEW BEDFORD, Mass.—A long queue of children waiting for soup and bread, extending for more than two blocks beyond the Workingmen's Club. Your heart contracts quickly with a mixture of emotions—of sorrow that the line should be necessary; of joy that the workers themselves are taking care of their own.

They are of all ages—these little ones—and in varied degrees of cleanliness and dress, but all adorable as they file past you so solemnly, their tiny faces grave, one little hand outstretched so confidently for the loaf of bread that you hand to them; the other, clutching carefully the can, or the pot, or even the beach-pail full of hot, nourishing soup. One of the members of the Workingmen's Club tells us that the loaves of bread are sent down every day by the National Jewish Alliance and the Hebrew Bakers' Union, and some \$200 a week is received from the Textile Council, the money being spent entirely for food, as everyone, from cooks to servers, is a volunteer helper.

A weather-beaten old weaver indignantly piles an accordion in the back yard of the club, where the huge kettles of soup are being dispensed, and the solemn faces of the little break into smiles as they come within hearing distance of his cheerful music.

For a moment the visitors stand watching, then Mary Donovan Hapgood, the Socialist candidate for governor of Massachusetts, takes her place among those who are handing out loaves of bread to the children of the strikers. They respond immediately to the love and sympathy for them which flows from her entire being.

Powers Hapgood Speaks
A large open field in one of the parks of New Bedford—Brooklawn. Thousands of strikers, men and women, young boys and girls, seated on a wooden grand stand around an open space on which stands a long wooden table reserved for the speakers. The sun sends down unmercifully hot rays; not a breeze arises to lessen the acute discomfort. But no one moves as that splendid worker, Joe Harrison, President of the New Bedford Textile Council, introduces the speakers.

Young Donald Thompson is first, a fair-haired Ypsel from Boston, who has discovered unknown possibilities in himself as a speaker and organizer in his services to the strikers of New Bedford. That the people love and approve of him is shown by the hearty applause with which they punctuate his remarks.

Powers Hapgood is next. For almost an hour he tells the strikers of the efforts of another group of workers, the miners, to better their conditions; their refusal to accept not a 10 per cent wage cut, but a 33-1/3 per cent cut. He leads his audience with him to the mines of England, Germany, France and China. He describes the fearful conditions prevailing in the textile mills of China, and shows how intimately the interests of the workers are bound up all over the world.

Before the arrival of Comrade Mary Donovan from Hazlewood Park, where she is speaking to another group of strikers, Mrs. Mary Gordon Thompson of the Women's Trade Union League tells us a little of Comrade Donovan's history. Her fine work as a labor inspector in Massachusetts and her unrelenting prosecution of violators of the child-labor and women labor laws had earned for her their hatred, and her efforts during the Sacco-Vanzetti case was a good excuse to get rid of a too-efficient (from their point of view) worker.

Cheers for Miss Donovan.
The reception of Comrade Donovan is an enthusiastic one. Traveling through Indiana, Michigan, Pennsylvania and even through Canada, she found people tremendously interested and sympathetic to the New Bedford strikers. Her shame for Massachusetts because of its murder of Sacco and Vanzetti was put to rest by her pride in the fine spirit shown by these men and women, these boys and girls, in their twenty weeks' defiance of the textile barons of Massachusetts. She feels honored to be permitted to speak to them.

Many of the women are on picket duty, and are forced to leave the meeting early to get down to the mills in time. Our party separates after the meeting and some of us hop on a street car and hurry down to the Wamsutta Mills, but find that the handful of scabs have been dismissed more than an hour early to avoid the picket-lines. Our disappointment is lightened somewhat by our discovery that the rest of our group had succeeded in picketing the mills in another section of the city.

These workers of New Bedford are splendid. They are men and women of high intelligence and with comprehension of the meaning of their struggle that is an inspiration. They are holding their ranks solid, unbroken, and they will continue to do so until they win—but they must have help, both moral and financial. Every penny contributed goes to feed the hungry children, to buy groceries for the strikers' families, for most of the assistance is volunteered. The individual benefit is less than 15 cents a day, but in spite of their hardships, their sacrifices, their spirit is high, enthusiastic. And we must help them to win their struggle by sending in food and money. Their fight is the fight of all working-men and women; their victory will be ours.

Hoover Keeps Tab On Critics, Is Report

WASHINGTON.—Resentment is expressed by some of the newspaper correspondents assigned to travel with Herbert Hoover during the campaign, at what they describe as his private espionage system. Not only does he have all of the newspapers read and all criticisms of himself and his program, reported to him for "correction," but he hears about many private statements which may be considered hostile.

Two writers on the press car returning from California with the Republican nominee arranged to carry on a "framed" talk in the hearing of a third man who was close to Hoover's ear. Next day they were approached with the demand to know why they had taken the unfriendly tone indicated in this private talk.

A man named Ritchie, for many years in government secret service, is reported to be Hoover's closest confidant and head of his private information service.

Socialist Registrars Rejected

Old Gang in Reading Violates Law in Attempt to Recover Control in City

READING, Pa.—Snubbing the Socialists of Reading in every precinct of the city, the County Commissioners ignored the party's petitions for the appointment of registrars and named Democrats and Republicans in the face of last year's landslide which made the Socialist party the leading political group in the city.

Never before has a more ardent use of the spoils system been made by any local group in power. Petitions from practically every district in the city had been presented to the commissioners. The names presented were all those of qualified electors, men and women who had been born and reared in Reading. The party's position of leadership was unquestioned. Nevertheless, the County Democrats selected their own followers and Republicans.

The action of the Commissioner was in violation of the spirit, if not of the letter, of the law governing such appointments, is the opinion of Assistant City Solicitor Darlington Hoopes. Basing his contention upon an act of Assembly signed by Governor Pinchot, May 14, 1925, Hoopes said:

"The Socialists complied with the law in presenting petitions; the commissioners ignored the spirit of the law, in which it states that registrars shall be representatives of the two leading political parties of the precinct or ward. It should be noted that precinct and ward are recognized as districts, and not the city, county or state."

Here Is the Law
Section 2 of the act to which Hoopes referred reads in part:

"The names of two suitable persons to be registrars shall be suggested to the county commissioners, by petition duly signed for each precinct or ward, by the party representatives of the two leading parties of the precinct or ward. The petition shall be signed by five electors of the district, and shall set forth the names, addresses, occupations, and political affiliations of the persons suggested."

The old gang has clearly violated the law and the Socialists will certainly make this a conspicuous issue in the campaign.

A campaign of two months which will extend to all sections of Berks County will be launched Saturday, September 8, with meetings in Bernville, Rehersburg, Hamburg, Strausstown and Blandon. Other larger boroughs to be visited before the November election are Gibraltair, Monocacy and Topton, and, in addition, many of the smaller rural communities.

Posters will be used in the smaller communities and dodgers will be distributed from door to door in the boroughs. A number of Socialists outside of Reading have volunteered their services to attend to the advertising and assist at the meetings.

In addition to the speakers, party literature has been prepared for distribution wherever the speakers hold forth. Some of it will be given away free at the close of each meeting and more expensive books and pamphlets will be sold at cost prices.

"We are out to make Socialists even more than to get votes," Organizer John A. Aulenbach declares.

Thomas In New Bedford Labor Day

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called prosperity a myth. The Socialist Party headed Reading's Labor Day celebration with City Councilman James H. Maurer driving home a caustic attack on capitalism.

The Boston Central Labor Union was the guest of the city on the occasion of its 50th anniversary. President Ornum of the Cigarmakers warned organized capitalists that they would "prove the greatest galaxy of destructionists in the world" if they fail to meet organized labor half way. He urged a vigorous fight on the injunction evil. Rain prevented the Boston Central demonstration but the full program was broadcast over W N A C. In New York W E V D gave over the day to labor.

MOVIE OPERATORS REFUSE CUT
ST. LOUIS.—Motion picture operators have rejected a 10 per cent cut proposed by St. Louis owners. Negotiations continue.

Dry South Sells Booze Cheapest

Liquor Issue Serves Only To Becloud Vital Economic Problems of Section

By Art Shields

ASHEVILLE, N. C.—(FP)—Nowhere in the United States, probably, has the prohibition issue brought more bunt into the political campaign than in the Southern states.

Rival politicians who are beating the prohibition drum both assume that the South is pretty dry today, when as a matter of fact it is pretty wet. Bishop Cannon of the Southern Methodist Church is storming at the voters in behalf of Hoover, who will keep the South dry, as though it were dry; and Josephus Daniels, editor of the Raleigh News and Observer and ex-secretary of the Navy, is asking for support of Smith on the theory that he will not make the South and the rest of the country wet.

All the while the citizens who yield to the noise of this controversy are forgetting the more fundamental issues that challenge all thoughtful persons in the South—to wit, the gouging of the power companies, the denial of the right of workers to organize in the manufacturing industries and on some railroads, and the price fixing practiced by the "Big Five" tobacco companies who buy one of the two chief money crops of the farmers.

Daniels' Town Wet
The wetness of Raleigh, Josephus Daniels' own town, was amusingly indicated in a recent fire in an old hotel. Firemen at some risk repeatedly rescued a drunken male guest from his burning room, but each time he would plunge back into the smoke like a stubborn old horse in a burning stable. Finally, brought to the police station by John Carabine, a former state organizer, now of Springfield, Mass. A large audience listened to him for two hours, a large amount of literature was sold and given out.

Bridgeport
The State Campaign manager, M. F. Plunkett, addressed the large crowd that attended open air meetings held in this city in years, Saturday evening, September 1st. Frederick Cederholm spoke and advocated the repeal of the prohibition law. The sale of literature went beyond expectations and a very good collection was taken up.

Naugatuck Valley
The State Secretary, M. F. Plunkett, will arrange a number of street meetings in Derby, Shelton, Ansonia, Naugatuck and Waterbury within the next two weeks.

Virginia Appeal Out
PETERSBURG, Va.—David Lidman joyfully proclaims the appearance of the Virginia Appeal, the new Old Dominion's weekly dedicated to Socialism. The publication date is Wednesday. The intention is to maintain the Virginia Appeal as a weekly for all southern Socialists.

Meetings in Tennessee
KNOXVILLE, Tenn.—Leonard C. Kaye announces many new contacts in Tennessee. Preparations are being made for an outdoor noonday meeting at the railroad shops at Custer.

Seattle Is Ready
SEATTLE, Wash.—Rudy Herman reports that arrangements are being made for a successful Thomas meeting at Spokane.

Herbert Hoover, succeeded in helping the operators break Mr. Lewis's union is now a matter of tragic history. It is inevitable that old-party politicians should feel contempt for labor leaders who fawn upon them with promises of support which they are incapable of giving and that when the opportunity affords, should turn viciously upon these "labor" endorses.

The country over, labor is in bad repute these days and the sort of politics labor, through its spokesmen, is playing has a lot to do with its ill repute. Racketeers in Chicago and Detroit, gangsters in New York and Philadelphia—these vermin are part and parcel of the policy of "rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies."

So when those who know the true situation read of the endorsement of Smith by the New York State Federation, the activities of a man like Berry of the Pressmen or the formation of "labor committees" for one or the other of the old-line candidates, they simply shrug their shoulders and turn away in disgust.

No "Labor Vote"
It is all too evident what has been going on behind the scenes. It is all too evident that such and such an official is worrying about the nice fat job that Tammany in New York or the Small-Thompson outfit in Chicago has doled out and he is going to do his damndest to "swing the boys into line."

That the aforesaid "boys" stubbornly refuse to be swung into line, official endorsement or no, is an encouraging feature of an otherwise almost hopeless situation.

There is no such thing as a labor vote. Labor goes on voting for leaders of the Open Shop drive, for injunction judges, for labor-baiting Congressmen, because the rank and file forget their interests when they get to the polls.

One can blame, however, the system and the men who maintain it, that makes an American labor party so long delayed.

If for no other reason, and there are reasons aplenty, workers who are alive to their interests and the future of the movement to which they belong will vote this year for Norman Thomas and the party which he heads, the only party which represents a real political organization of the workers.

Around Campaign Headquarters

News and Notes Picked up at Socialist National Campaign Headquarters
15 East 40th Street, New York City.

Oklahoma Planning Dollar Donation Drive

A "Dollar Donation Drive" with which to secure funds to carry on the Socialist Party campaign in Oklahoma is now under way. Socialist workers hold great hopes that this novel method of financing a political campaign will bring good results.

The two day picnic and rally staged at Tulsa on the visit of Norman Thomas to Oklahoma has resulted in renewed activity on the part of comrades all over the state. Thomas L. Buie, state secretary of the party, hopes to be able to arrange several return dates for the Socialist national standard bearer if arrangements can be made with the National Office in the state. He asks that subscription lists be being circulated, handbills distributed, and subscriptions for Socialist periodicals being taken in all parts of the state. Buie has traveled several hundred miles over various parts of the state. He reports the number of anti-Smith Democrats and anti-Hoover Republicans on the increase.

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Connecticut News
Hamden

The Socialist Party of this town will hold a meeting at the home of Cornelius Mahoney, 800 Francis avenue, Wednesday, September 12th, for the purpose of nominating a town ticket to go on the ballot for the town election on October 1st. The local expects to take in two new members at this meeting.

Local Hamden has disposed of its first order of Thomas and Maurer campaign buttons and has ordered a new lot.

Walter E. Davis, Secretary of Local Hamden and a member of the state executive committee has been elected a delegate to the Machinists Convention at Atlanta, Ga., on the 17th of September.

New Haven
The Local held a very successful street meeting Saturday evening, September 1st which was addressed by John Carabine, a former state organizer, now of Springfield, Mass. A large audience listened to him for two hours, a large amount of literature was sold and given out.

Bridgeport
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Thomas To Idaho As Socialists Plan Literature Drive

Idaho Socialists are completing their arrangements for a great meeting Tuesday evening, Sept. 18, in Recreation Hall, Pocatello, which Norman Thomas, Socialist Candidate for President, will address. The Socialist candidate for Governor, Thomas J. Connor, the candidate for U. S. Senator, C. J. Lundt, and the rest of the state candidates will attend the meeting, thus making it a big state Socialist demonstration.

With this big affair on hand, State Secretary C. H. Cammans presents an excellent literature campaign to Socialist sympathizers in the state. He asks all friends of the party to "send their mite, from a dime to a dollar, to pay for publicity matter, postage, typewriting, mimeographing and stationery." The National Office and the National Campaign Committee have contributed almost all the funds so far spent by the Idaho organization and Idaho Socialists and friends are now asked to help. Will you help?

What is desired is to print and send 5,000 copies of the state platform, 5,000 copies of the Appeal adopted by the Idaho State convention and other literature to a selected list of the more than 5000 voters who voted for LaFollette in 1924. It is figured that \$40 will pay for the whole cost of this literature campaign.

Send your contribution immediately to the following temporary address: C. H. Cammans, General Delivery, Pocatello, Idaho. Do it now!

Handbook Going Fast
The first large edition of "The Intelligent Voters' Guide," the official Socialist campaign handbook, is practically exhausted. Local Berks County, Pennsylvania, likes the book to the tune of an order for 500 copies, and promises more orders to come. The Rand Book Store sells more than 100 a week, and is stocking up for a big rush during September and October. We advise all party branches and friendly organizations to do the same. Single copies sell for 35 cents (45 cents by mail). Quantities may be obtained at a price which will permit a fair-sized profit to branches on the re-sale.

National Headquarters News

From National Office, Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

N. E. C. to Meet in Cleveland
The National Executive Committee will hold a meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, on September 22 and 23. Socialists of Cleveland are preparing a happy welcome.

Women's Committees
Lillith M. Wilson, chairman of the National Women's Committee, has sent a follow-up letter to all local and branches in the country through the National Office, urging them to act without delay in organizing women's committees and political clubs to carry on special propaganda among women. Women's committees should be elected by the Local or Branch and they in turn should organize women's political clubs in support of Thomas and Maurer. Names and addresses of the members of such committees should be sent to the National Office.

Third Edition of Debs Book
The National Office has brought out the third edition of Eugene V. Debs's last book, "We and Our Country." This edition also contains the last and best photograph of Debs and other illustrations relating to the three prisons where he was incarcerated. Locals and Branches are urged to add this book to their stock of literature. The price per copy is \$1.50; per dozen, \$14, carriage prepaid. Help the National Office to sell this entire edition before the end of the campaign.

Sixty Days More!
Sixty days more to reach the millions of voters with our message. Make that sixty days count in activity for our great cause. Thomas starts his western tour with that enthusiasm for which he is noted. If our western comrades will do their duty in arranging meetings and advertising them well, our cause will get the best results from the big meetings. Give your fullest support, comrades, all day long. Try to make the meeting in your city the best one of the trip.

Jewish Socialist Labor Party
The Jewish Socialist Labor Party, Poale Zion, of the United States and Canada, held a big convention in Milwaukee during the past week. National Secretary Henry of the Socialist Party was given a hearty welcome to a full house on August 31. This convention of the young Jewish folks, which organization always supports the Socialist Party ticket, showed the determination of the members to give their full support to the nominees of the Socialist Party. They are enthusiastically for Thomas and Maurer. Reports showed that their organization is growing nicely. Al Benenson, State Secretary of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin, and Marx Lewis, Secretary to Congressman Berger, were also given an enthusiastic welcome by the delegates.

Jewish Socialist Verband
The National Executive Committee of the Verband has arranged campaign tours for the following comrades: P. Danziger, who will tour from New York to St. Louis and the entire South. His tour includes about thirty-two states and cities. He will also cover the New England states. B. M. Marmar will cover Pennsylvania, New Jersey and the southeastern territory. Members of the National Executive Committee of the Verband will also make visits to nearby points in New York.

H. Rogoff's leaflet entitled, "Hoover, Smith and Their Platform," was distributed throughout the country and a second edition is contemplated. B. Botwin's leaflet, "The Biographies of Norman Thomas and James Maurer" is already out of print and will be sent to the branches next week. Ch. Kantorovitch's leaflet, "The Platform of the Socialist Party," will be printed in a week or two. Besides these leaflets, the executive committee issued a special pamphlet devoted to the new policy of the Communist Party of splitting existing unions. This pamphlet will be issued in twenty-five thousand copies and spread throughout the country.

A special number of The Worker will be published on the 27th of October. The best known Jewish-American Socialist writers will contribute.

Irritable Bladder Catarrh
Soon cleared up by genuine Santal Midy
Effective-Harmless
Sold by All Druggists

Queens County, N. Y., Campaign Under Way

Branch Jamaica, L. I. Socialist Party, will open the campaign Tuesday evening, September 11 with a joint meeting with the Jamaica Branch of the Workers' Circle in the Workers' Circle Clubrooms at 8809 161st street, two blocks north of Jamaica avenue.

James Oneal, just returned from the Brussels Congress of the Socialist and Labor International will talk on what he saw there and the lessons to be drawn from the congress for the American Socialist movement. Barnett Wolff, candidate for Congress from the Second District, will act as chairman. Admission is free and Socialists and sympathizers in all parts of the borough are invited to come and bring their friends.

Get Your Posters
National Campaign Headquarters has made up a large supply of bill posters in all sizes with excellent pictures of Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer.

There are some large posters good for use on billboards, fences and what-have-you. There are also a large blank space on which the names of state, city and local Socialist candidates are to be printed. Get in touch with campaign headquarters immediately on these.

There is one of the standard campaign size with pictures of Comrade Thomas, another with pictures of Thomas and Maurer, a third with a strip which would look good on fences, boards, country roads, etc. This last contains the slogan, "For Your Children's Sake, Vote Socialist."

Order your quantities immediately. Rates supplied by Campaign Manager Gerber at 15 East 40th Street, New York City.

Auto Signs Are Ready
The automobile signs we were talking about are now ready at Campaign Headquarters, 15 East 40th Street, New York City, and are just waiting to be stuck on your "Lizzie." Pierce Arrow, Marmon or Lincoln. Put a Thomas and Maurer sign on your car and that becomes a traveling Socialist campaigner without further trouble.

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TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)
dislikes and fears a magnificent weapon against our national sincerity. With all nations signing the treaty there is a chance of progress toward peace provided the treaty is followed up by disarmament and those other steps written in our Socialist platform. Otherwise it will be worse than useless.

W. E. V. D.'s victory before the Radio Commission created a precedent of importance in the struggle for freedom of speech and broadcasting of minority opinions. The victory was largely due to the volume of protest the Commission received. The same sort of support can yet finance W. E. V. D. adequately and help it obtain a better wave length and more power.

Smith's 'Labor Support' Worthless, Gerber Says

Governor Smith's "labor support" was declared "unreal, meaningless and worthless" in a statement by G. August Gerber, Socialist national campaign manager.

"Endorsement by the New York State Federation of Labor of Governor Smith was to be expected," Mr. Gerber declared. "Nevertheless such action is in no way indicative of the way labor will vote. The New York Federation of Labor has been closely allied with Tammany Hall for many years. Tammany has cultivated a few strategic leaders with jobs and other favors. The investment, however, will be a total loss as far as this campaign is concerned. As far as we have been able to ascertain labor opinion in the forty-eight states, the organized workers are incensed with the Democratic's presumption in asking the open-shop advocate, John J. Raskob, to organize a committee of labor leaders.

"Labor's opposition to Smith is based generally on the weak quality of his injunction remarks in his address of acceptance. Mr. Smith opposed 'unwarranted' injunctions. In this regard, labor feels that he has not offered one bit more than Mr. Hoover, who says he opposes 'excessive' injunctions.

Big Insurers Squeeze Little Auto Owners

BOSTON.—Insurance gouges demanded by private companies handling compulsory automobile insurance have turned into a prime political issue in Massachusetts. When Insurance Commissioner Monk announced a jump in rates from \$20 to \$53 for insuring Fords and other small cars in Boston, the resulting storm from thousands of wage workers and others brought the possibility that the raise will be postponed until after the primaries, Sept. 18.

Labor Day Greetings

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

Branch 12
808-10 Locust Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

JOS. MENAKER, Sec'y.

Labor Day Greetings From

Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund
BRANCH 24 — HARLEM

Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, Inc.
ESTABLISHED 1872
Main Office: 227 EAST 84TH STREET (Bet. 2nd and 3

Smith Losing Labor Vote To Thomas Straw Ballots Show

Governor's Wall Street Bid Factor

Trade Union Conference Organizes To Roll Up Big Vote For Socialists

IN bidding so boldly for Wall Street support, Alfred E. Smith has caused a revolt against him among the masses of voters who have created his career. Smith is beginning to find that he cannot have both the classes and the masses. Raskob, DuPont, financial and industrial magnates, may help raise a big campaign fund but they are arousing the suspicions of millions of workingmen who are within the reach of Socialist campaigners.

This statement by G. August Gerber, 15 East 40th Street, New York City, national campaign manager of the Socialist Party, issued this week, was based upon a series of straw votes taken among typical groups of workingmen in and about New York and the actions of recent conventions of official labor bodies with regard to the presidential campaign.

The straw votes, says Mr. Gerber, show a remarkable rise in sentiment for Norman Thomas, mainly at the expense of Smith. Mr. Gerber also claims that organized labor, which, under the leadership of the late Samuel Gompers, was consistently a supporter of the national Democratic ticket except for the 1924 lapse in behalf of LaFollette, has this year, for the first time, refused to endorse the Democratic candidate for President.

Sees Revulsion to Smith
Mr. Gerber attributes labor's lukewarmness towards Smith, coming as it does in the face of Smith's extravagant avowals of friendship for labor and his extreme wet views, to a popular revulsion among workingmen against Smith's new-found backers in the realm of big business and finance.

The straw vote under Socialist auspices, taken among more than 1,600 railroad workers, longshoremen, building trades workers, teamsters and needle trades workers in and near New York City gives Smith a percentage of only 35.6, with Hoover close behind with 32.8 and Norman Thomas with 31.6.

"Enthusiasm and hero-worship which quite generally characterized the attitude of many of these people towards Smith in the past is fast being replaced by a bitterness, engendered by a feeling that his open bid for Wall Street support is in the nature of a betrayal of his avowals of loyalty to the common people," comments Mr. Gerber in presenting the results of the straw vote.

The conference of the New York Trade Union Campaign Committee for Norman Thomas which met Wednesday, September 5th, at 5:30 P. M. in Webster Hall, 11th Street, east of Fourth Avenue, said Gerber, demonstrated by the number of delegates and the massed voting strength they will represent, the extent to which the campaign is benefiting from the revulsion against Smith among what he terms "progressive workingmen."

The call for the conference was sent to representative trade unionists, such as shop chairmen, officers, general executive board members, business agents and specially elected delegates. The call was issued by Abraham I. Shipplacoff, former member of the New York Legislature and Board of Aldermen, now head of the International Leather Goods Workers' Union as chairman, and Edward F. Cassidy, also a former member of the Legislature and Board of Aldermen, as secretary.

Herewith is the compilation of the straw vote among New York labor men:

LABOR PRESIDENTIAL STRAW VOTE

RAILROAD MEN: 291 canvassed in yards of Pennsylvania R. R., Erie R. R., C. & D. R. of N. J., Lehigh Valley, West Shore and D. L. & W. Valleys in North Jersey.	Smith	Hoover	Thomas
	102	97	92

BUILDING TRADES: 341 canvassed in Manhattan and Brooklyn.

	Smith	Hoover	Thomas
	130	109	102

TEAMSTERS: 308 canvassed at West Street, South Street, Bush Terminals and the Bronx.

	Smith	Hoover	Thomas
	113	102	93

LONGSHOREMEN: 263 canvassed in Hoboken, Jersey City, Bush Terminals and West Street, New York.

	Smith	Hoover	Thomas
	94	92	77

GARMENT TRADES: 411 canvassed in Manhattan and Brooklyn.

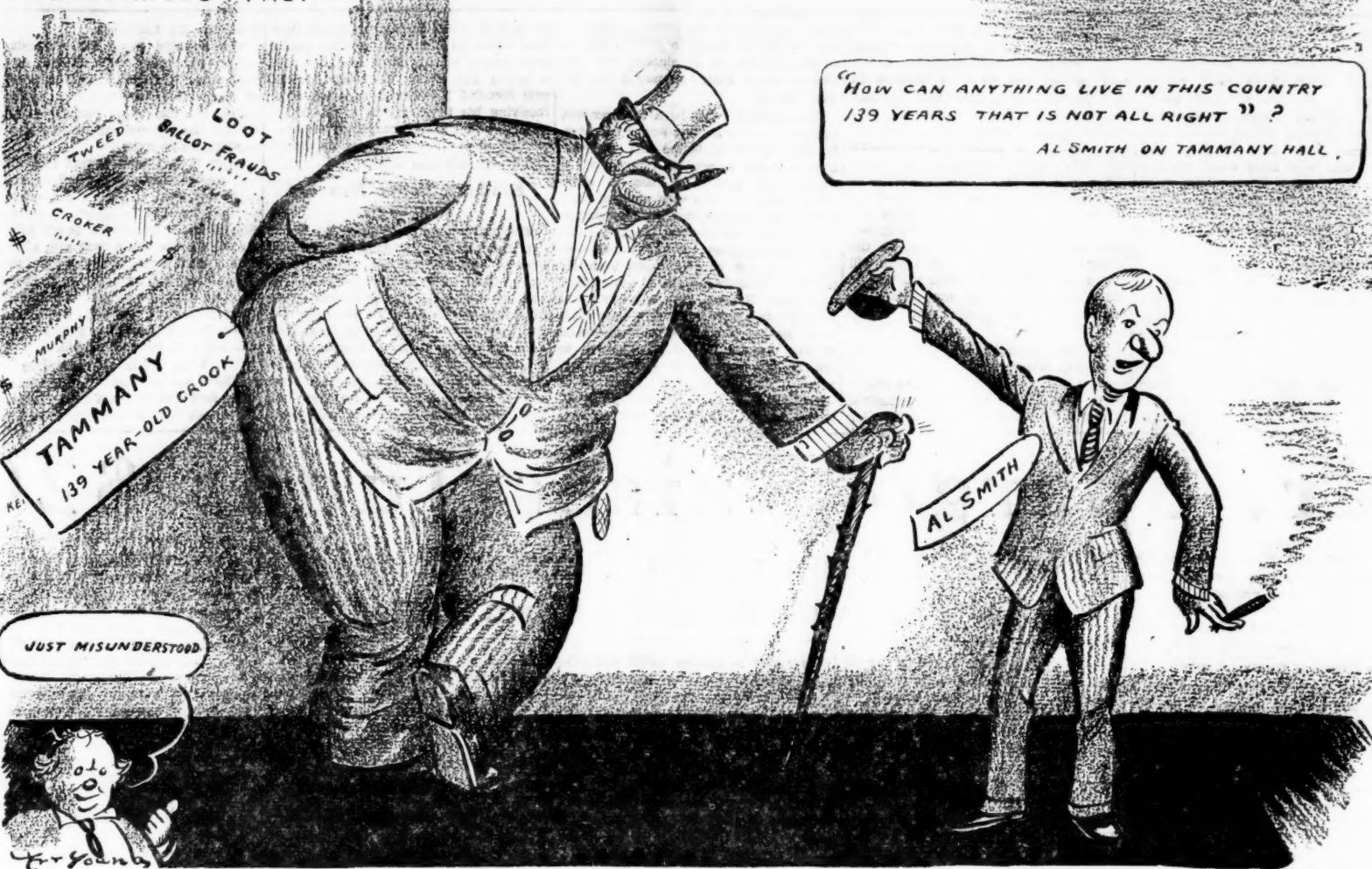
	Smith	Hoover	Thomas
	135	129	147

Despite Smith's lead, Mr. Gerber finds comfort in the straw vote in pointing out that Mr. Thomas' vote is surprisingly high while Smith's small lead would indicate a tremendous drop from his usual majorities in New York City, since labor furnishes so large a proportion of that vote.

Cheered by the results of this straw vote, Socialists now plan, according to Mr. Gerber, an intensive drive against Smith among the workingmen of the nation and particularly in New York City, Smith's stronghold.

His Dear Old Dad

THE GLORIOUS PAST



Drawn by Art Young For the New Leader.

Green Demands 5-Day Week in Labor Day Talk

Declares Shorter Hours Is One of Chief Objectives of A. F. of L.

CLEVELAND.—One of the chief objectives of the American Federation of Labor is the establishment of the five day workweek in all lines of industry, William Green, president of the Federation, told his Labor Day audience in Cleveland.

"This great economic reform," said Green, "is made possible through the installation of improved machinery, the development of skill and science, and an increasing use of electrical power. The public mind has accepted this change and public opinion has placed upon it the stamp of approval. Hundreds of thousands of working people have secured the five day workweek. This has been the significant accomplishment of labor during the past year."

Discussing the growing displacement of skilled workers by machinery, Green declared that labor must see to it that the benefits from the use of more machinery and power shall come to the workers.

"We must find a way," he said, "by which every man and woman is accorded an opportunity to secure employment, give service and receive wages. Labor seeks an opportunity to cooperate with the representatives of industry and the government in considering the serious problem of machine displacement with a view to finding a remedy."

Explaining why no political ticket had been endorsed by the executive council of the A. F. of L. this year, Green said that men and women on joining the Federation were guaranteed the exercise of political freedom. However, it was right and necessary that the Federation furnish to its members all available information as to the candidates and platforms, since the labor movement is intimately concerned with the economic and political forces which determine the condition of the workers' lives.

Frank Morrison Speaks at Springfield, Ill.

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—"We are prone to forget," declared Secretary Frank Morrison, American Federation of Labor, at the Springfield federation's Labor Day demonstration. "We overlook conditions that existed within the memory of even the youngest of our members. We permit the 12, 11, 10 and 9-hour workday to pass from our minds. We forget the days of unchecked child labor, of company stores many of us were compelled to patronize, of unguarded machinery, of no compensation laws and other ills that truly made workers the brother to the ox. It was organized labor that forced these changes. The trade union is the cradle of democracy. It is the defender of the weak and the foe of wrong. Its victories and defeats are milestones that mark the workers' march to a higher and better life."

NEW BEDFORD, Mass. (F. P.)—Installation of hundreds of automatic looms mean that many weavers will be jobless when the mills re-open.

Bunk To Fool The Boobs

Wet and Dry "Issue" a Godsend to Old Political Fakers

IN all the gabble by the politicians regarding the muddled liquor controversy not one voter in a thousand understands the record of the Republican and Democratic parties on this matter. Drys will find no consolation in the action of either party. Wets will find no consolation in either party. Both parties share equally in the mess and the man or woman who thinks that by voting for either Smith or Hoover the wet or dry will get satisfaction in plain words is a boob.

Consider the record of the two parties for a moment. A Democratic Congress passed the Webb-Kenyon Act which prohibited shipment of liquor from one state into another. It then submitted the Eighteenth Amendment for a vote of the states. A Republican Congress passed the Volstead Act the enforcement of which has become a matter of wild controversy.

Search the record of the two parties in Congress and the above paragraph is a tabloid history of what happened. Anybody who thinks that the statesmen and politicians who brought about the present mess will ever give it up as an "issue" is certainly credulous. It is a godsend to parties and politicians who have no issue and no differences. But here is an "issue" that may be used to smother thinking on questions worth while.

Consider the farmer who faces the wreck of hopes of a lifetime, the man who is ruined by the parties who have neglected him to legislate for bankers and capitalists. Or it may be the unemployed workman of the cities, or the wretched miner facing hideous poverty for his family, or the textile worker mercilessly skinned and vegetating on a low standard of living. Whoever he is, he belongs to the toiling millions who enrich the idlers who own this nation.

He begins to think of himself, his neighbor, his shopmate, his wife and children. Life is hard. Prospects bleak. The struggle grinding. He wants economic security, an assured home, comfortable surroundings, leisure for himself and wife, play and education for his children. The parties of capitalism have ignored him and his problems. Some day he will act for himself and his class and that means the end of the old parties and the old bank of the political brokers.

Republicans and Democrats appear on the scene. They tear their shirts. They yowl denunciations at each other. And about what? Prohibition. Liquor. Volstead Act. Law enforcement. Personal liberty. Wets. Drys. Smuggling. Bootleggers. Is 2 1/2 per cent intoxicating? Must it be reduced to 2 1/4 or may it be increased to 2 3/4? If wet Smith is added to dry Robinson what is the sum of the two? If Hoover will enforce and consider grave abuses what does that mean? If winking at the Eighteenth Amendment is nullification, is searching without a warrant nullification of the Fourth Amendment? Is the question a religious, a moral, an economic, or a political issue? Is it a matter of state rights or does it come within Federal jurisdiction?

We have not exhausted the "issues" that are at hand for the professional political fakers. It is a godsend to them. They and all their gabble are not worth two whoops in Hades for the settlement of any genuine problems in American life. They bear equal responsibility for the present muddle and they have no genuine desire that we shall get out of it. It is good for campaigns for many years to come and they expect to use it to prevent any real thinking and action in political life. We are fools to play their game. Neither honest wets or drys will get any satisfaction from either party.

Philadelphia has been a rotten borough of Republican brokers for many years just as New York has been a rotten borough of Democratic brokers. Mayor Walker at the Philadelphia Sesqui-Centennial said:

"If Bill Vane, Fred Kendrick and Charley Hall lived in New York City they'd be Tammany leaders, and if John McCoey, Judge Olvany and Jim Egan lived in Philadelphia they'd be making up the Republican slate. We're all God's children and I don't believe in taking party politics too seriously."

Certainly. When we refuse to take these fakers seriously we will deal with serious questions and come into our own by ruling in the seats of power.

Thomas Leaves On Western Campaign Tour

(Continued From Page 1)
CISCO, CALIFORNIA, at Eagles Hall, 273 Golden Gate avenue.

September 15th, to be announced.
September 16th, Sunday, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, at the Trinity Auditorium, 847 S. Grand avenue, 2 p.m.

September 17th, Monday, SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, First Congregational Church, Corner of 4th street, East.

September 18th, Tuesday, POCATELLO, IDAHO, Recreation Hall, 120 North Garfield street.

September 19th, Wednesday, CHEYENNE, WYOMING, Cathedral Hall, 21st street and Capital avenue.

September 20th, Thursday, DENVER, COLORADO, at the Women's Club, 1437 Glenarm street.

September 22nd, Saturday, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI, Jaffa Hall, Jeff and Lafayette streets.

September 23rd, Sunday, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, Amalgamated Temple, 2:30 p.m.

September 24th, Monday, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

September 25th, Tuesday, CLEVELAND, OHIO, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Auditorium.

Thomas will be accompanied by August Claessens, former Socialist member of the New York state legislature, who will also speak at the meetings, and by Edward Levinson, assistant editor of The New Leader and publicity director for the Socialist National Campaign Committee.

Police Force of Chicago Gets Another Knock

CHICAGO (F. P.)—The police department of Chicago, noted for its eagerness to arrest strike pickets and its unwillingness to pull in real crooks and criminals, is denounced in a grand jury report in these words:

"From the testimony heard and the evidence presented, the utter disregard for the fulfillment of their duties by the police department is appalling and there is no question in the minds of the members of this jury that the police department is rotten to the core."

A few years ago U. S. District Attorney Olson publicly stated that 50 per cent of the police department were corrupt. Since then the percentage has risen.

MITTEN WANTS MORE MONEY

BUFFALO, N. Y.—A dime fare isn't enough for the International Railway Co., the Mitten system running street cars in Buffalo. The company, which boasts company unions in Philadelphia and Buffalo, has threatened to have the state public service commission boost fares to higher levels.

Textile Union Is Planning New Strategy

Concentration of Efforts On the South One Point In Program Proposed by Muste

BEFORE the September convention of the United Textile Workers will be laid a comprehensive scheme for the organization of the industry, outlined by Dean A. J. Muste of Brookwood Labor College and approved by the organization's executive council at its last meeting at Brookwood.

The council's program calls for a broad campaign to organize the heart of the textile industry in the Carolinas, Georgia and Alabama, after northern unions have been consolidated and partly organized branches such as sheeting, hosiery and carpets further strengthened. Realizing the hostility to unionism throughout the south and the negative attitude of southern mill workers toward organization, the council plans energetic work at first through friendly women's organizations, liberal editors and teachers and worker-organizers.

The United Textile Workers is willing to cooperate with employers toward strengthening an archaic, highly competitive industry. It will demand as steps toward placing the industry on a higher level, the scrapping of old machinery, elimination of waste, development of the market and new styles and of more stable units for buying, selling and manufacturing.

Hosiery Union Scheme Endorsed

All these moves would require a more consolidated industry to replace the present hodgepodge of cutthroat competition between north and south, and between individual mill owners in both sections. "It doesn't pay to tackle the small units, the little fellows," Dean Muste said in outlining a program to members of the executive council. "He isn't dependable; he may go out of business; you're constantly losing track of him. Moreover, it is of no use for labor to fight the tendency toward mechanization and centralization, for it is inevitable."

The council was urged to approve a policy of cooperating with manufacturers, "not because we are interested in you, but because we are interested in these workers whom we represent." This policy would be based on iron resistance to wage cuts, a drastic reduction in hours with the five day week and six hour day as a goal, complete elimination of night work, improvement in child labor legislation and drastic enforcement of existing laws, a sound system of apprenticeship and union share in shop organization.

This program is already in partial operation in the full fashioned hosiery, carpet and sheeting divisions. The Hosiery Workers Federation has achieved sound footing in its division; Salem Local 33 has union conditions in an important section of the sheeting trade, and Philadelphia carpet weavers are an important factor. If the Silk Workers come into the U. T. W., a real effort can be made to line up big producers in Allentown, Reading and other eastern Pennsylvania cities now competing with Paterson.

To Concentrate on South

To achieve organization in the basic cotton, wool and silk branches, the council decided to concentrate first on the south to prevent the building up of a permanently non-union district. The rapid expansion of textiles in the south, the impending competition between cotton and steel, furniture and coal for union labor supply and the development of an industrial class of workers make the south a promising field.

To tackle this tremendous job, the council outlined three methods. The union will cooperate with liberal organizations of women and sympathetic leaders in the fight on long hours and night work. The Y. W. C. A., the League of Women Voters and the National Women's Trade Union League have attacked these evils vigorously. Many teachers, college professors and religious workers in the south have also fought against industrial feudalism and for the right workers to organize. Young workers, college students, still free lancing, will be glad to work and organize in the south.

The cooperation of the general movement, and particularly the state organizations, the city central bodies and organizations such as the Piedmont organizing Council would be essential back up all these efforts. With a pull, the U. T. W. executive council leaves the south is not at all bold and will be organized in this general

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EXTORTION OR SERVICE: THE POWER ISSUE

By James H. Maurer

The Socialist platform makes a clear and simple choice between an industry run for high profit—developed out of the natural water and coal resources, dominating our elections, corrupting our school and press—and a public owned power system.

Over eight billion dollars are already invested in the electric power industry and within another fifteen years it will probably have passed the railroads in size of investment. It has—and has shown it has—the power to dictate to the two old parties.

Control of 50 per cent of the power produced annually is already in the hands of five companies—The Electric Bond and Share group has 18.3%. The Insull group has 10.9%. The Northeastern (New York-New England) group has 9.1%. The North American has 6.7%. The Standard Gas and Electric has 4.6%.

Control of another thirty percent is now in the hands of 10 other companies. Fifteen companies control 80 per cent of all electric utility power produced in the United States today. Four-fifths of the power that lights our homes and turns our wheels is in the hands of fifteen companies and their bankers. This is a concentration of control it took the railroads almost a hundred years to achieve. We have let the power companies accomplish it in thirty years.

Still a Chance to Break the Power of Monopoly

We have an immediate opportunity to save some of our few remaining natural resources from the wreckage—from the monopoly of private ownership. If the rushing powers of the Colorado River (at Boulder Dam), of the Tennessee River (at Muscle Shoals), of the St. Lawrence River (in Northern New York State), of the Columbia River (in Washington), of the Potomac (at Great Falls) are given into the hands of the private companies, there will be no hope of securing for the public the advantages of the country's great natural endowments. Their monopoly will be practically complete. There will then be no yardstick by which their efficiency in service or rates can be measured.

The Socialist Party demands public development of these resources. They will furnish us with five continents on our side of the border, five government corporations or authorities dedicated to the proposition that the people, rather than the private companies, should get the natural advantages of our own streams and rivers.

In Ontario the domestic consumer pays two cents a kilowatt hour for light. In the United States they pay an average of seven cents. Coming from Niagara the power is about a cent cheaper than power in the United States. Three cents a kilowatt hour is our hat-tip to private efficiency in the United States. Three cents a kilowatt hour on the \$4,000,000,000 kwhs. that were used in the cities of this country in 1927 is a matter of \$489,000,000. This is what the greatest lobby of all time is fighting for when it prevents the passage of the Boulder Dam bill, when President Coolidge vetoes the Muscle Shoals bill, when Insull buys himself a United States Senator, when the power companies back Herbert Hoover for President.

The power companies have learned how to regulate regulation. Some of their present lobbyists are men who were formerly members of the state public service commissions. We are not foolish enough to believe that they did not earn their jobs before they left the commissions.

The power companies have regulated our state commissions to the place where they all claim and make us pay seven and eight per cent on an imaginary investment. "The nightmare of valuation" hangs over us, as Joseph Eastman, Interstate Commerce Commissioner, states. If the railroad companies are allowed to do what the power companies have already done, railroad rates will jump 50% over what they are now. The power companies already have that jump on us.

Corruption of Press and School

The power companies realize how much money they stood to lose and how much the public stood to gain if government development of Muscle Shoals, Boulder Dam and the St. Lawrence were effected. To prevent this they took the money that we had paid in rates and used it to open the newspaper columns to their interests in the struggle to retain their power. Parties and drinks are given to reporters. Larger advertising appropriations, growing every year, take open the editorial columns of the small town papers throughout the country. One of their lobbyists was so keen as to say that "I represent eight million dollars that says that Boulder Dam shall stay in private control." They employed men of high position in Washington to defeat Senator Walsh's investigation of their activities. Ex-Senator Lenroot (a Hoover supporter) was a Republican counsel before the Senate Committee. Ex-Senator Thomas was a Democratic counsel before that committee. Both were well paid for their fees and influences. They spent thousands of dollars flooding Congress with propaganda whenever an important vote on power matters came up during the last session. It has been estimated that they have spent a million dollars a year blocking the Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam bills. What they have done to broaden and scare senators and congressmen up for re-election, will probably never be known. They have let their money (collected from us) talk in no uncertain tones. They have spent hundreds and hundreds of thousands of dollars printing disinformation, their half-truths, their smoothly concealed lies, and smuggling them into the school-rooms of almost every state in the nation—a crime almost youth. It was called by the Secretary of the National Educational As-

"The (power) industry has done enough to dirty the waters of our public life. It is time we had the key water power positions that remain to us operating under government ownership."

sociation. They have subsidized whole departments of universities in order to acquire for themselves the aroma of respectability. They have paid college professors for the use of their name. They have lied about municipally owned power developments in this country and in Ontario. They have slandered the unscrupulous men who have stood up and told the truth about them. They have set in motion a machinery for controlling public opinion and private interests such as this country has never seen before.

The Present Issue

Hunted to the light, they about in brazen impudence that they will not stop—that they will go on with this propaganda, with this corruption of public opinion that has already made them a menace to free government in this country. We may expect the worst from them. In the Illinois senatorial election Insull contributed to both parties.

and George Brennan, the Democratic nominee for senator explained "many power companies and financiers go to both parties and even to factions in both parties. They have too. If they gave to just one all the time what do you suppose would happen when others got into power?" A United States senator then was worth \$150,000 to one public utility man alone. Since that time an indignant public opinion has forced the Senate to a vote on Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam. Senators who will oppose these measures are worth more to the power companies. A President who will veto such measures is worth millions to them every year. We may expect to see some of these millions spent during this election.

The issue is whether such great money resources, unscrupulously used, should prevent the people of the United States from sharing in the great industrial revolution that electric power is bringing

about, or whether the industry shall be told in ringing terms to furnish service at cost and remove its sinister and corrupting decay from our public life for once and all.

Herbert Hoover has been the constant apologist of the electric power industry. In 1925 he went before the National Electric Light Association Convention in Los Angeles and gave them a clean bill of health at the very moment they were voting more money for the corruption of press and schools. He gave them for their propaganda use a statement that they were not earning more than six per cent on their investment—an absurd falsehood. He said that regulation was adequate and satisfactory at a time when every honest public service commission in this country had taken occasion to criticize the working of our regulatory system. He has allowed himself to be supported by public utility men in all parts of the country. He has attempt-

ed to gain credit by supporting Boulder Dam when he is actually against public development of any kind, and has said so again and again. Secretary Mellon, who dictated Hoover's nomination after receiving his terms for it, is the owner of large public utility companies throughout the country. His support of Hoover can mean only one thing.

Southern Power Men are Democrats

The big power magnates of the South are Democrats. Governor Smith will have to deal with them to retain a control of Congress in case he is elected. His own appointees to the New York State Public Service Commission are conservative and power companies in New York earn 8% on an inflated investment and are allowed to merge without guaranteeing to the public any advantages from the economies effected. He does not even favor public transmission of power from the St. Lawrence.

The Socialist Party alone stands for public ownership and control of the generation, transmission and distribution of electrical power—the only means by which the consumers can be protected against the present exploitation and the exploitation to come.

After it had been proved and proved and proved over again, until it was too plain for even the most contented old party politicians to ignore, that Muscle Shoals leased to private power interests on their terms was a rank gift, on a par with Teapot Dome, and Congress, frightened of opinion at home if it approved such a gift, voted for public development, then President Coolidge, retiring from office, helped the power people out. He did not dare to veto the bill.

Was This Honorable

There was nothing Mr. Coolidge could have said that had not been nailed as a lie on the floor of the Senate for years.

There was no offer from the private companies for the \$158,000,000 government plant that was anything but laughable. Afraid that the power companies would refuse contributions in the campaign, he helped them out. He did not sign the bill. He did not refuse to sign it. Doing what he had been put there to do, he hid the bill in his pocket and a technicality that Congress adjourns rather than recesses during the summer, managed to do away with it. A dirty hole and corner way of doing it. The way of a man who does the dirty thing he is put there to do as quietly as possible, hoping that decent people won't happen to be looking when he does it.

Former Senator Lenroot was the paid lobbyist of the power utilities to prevent the Senate from passing the Walsh resolution for an investigation of the power companies activity in politics, press and schools. He succeeded in having that resolution beaten. He was Herbert Hoover's firm supporter from the start. At the Kansas City Convention he was Herbert Hoover's personal attorney in the contests for Southern delegates that Hoover had paid for and wanted delivered. One day he was at Kansas City helping his man to get the Republican nomination. The next Monday he was right back in Washington trying to prevent the Federal Trade Commission from getting the real facts about what the power lobby had done and is doing to govern this country for the profit of the power companies.

A citizen has to be a very babe in the woods not to see where Herbert Hoover stands on the control of this country by the private power people.

Robinson Bats .667 for the Power Gang

Joe Robinson, of Arkansas, candidate for Vice-President on the Democratic ticket, had three chances during the last session to show how he stands on the power issue. He is the side-kick of Smith, who is supposed to be all right on power. He is the living announcement that the Southern Democrats are just as much private power people as the Northern Republicans. He voted right on Muscle Shoals. That was too raw for anybody except a man definitely retiring from office to stand. He voted wrong on the Walsh resolution to investigate the power industry. He didn't want any such investigation. He voted wrong, he voted against the Boulder Dam bill. His batting average was .333 for the people and .667 for the power crowd.

The true meaning of the "Coolidge Economy" can be seen in the systematic and prolonged starvation of the Federal Power Commission. This Commission was charged with seeing that none of the inflation of investment that marks the rest of the industry is allowed in waterpower developments. That annoyed the private power interests. They saw to it that no funds were voted by Congress to allow this Commission to do its work properly. The Commission struggled along for a time, borrowing help from this and that department of government, and then, unable to do the duty assigned to it by law, struck. Its work is not being done now.

The Coolidge economy worked. The Federal Power Commission is starved out. The power people have, for the moment, gotten rid of an embarrassing contrast, the difference between waterpower developments that can not charge rates on an inflated valuation and their own plants. They hope to elect their contract embezzlers to them, that of seeing Muscle Shoals, Boulder Dam, the St. Lawrence and other key power positions giving cheap service, making the power of our streams and rivers available for use for all rather than for the profit of a few.

The power lobby spends about one million dollars a year in the country to get good for itself, to get legislatures, to get Congress, to get school teachers and editors and public service commissions to do what it wants them to do. The combined utilities spent somewhere between twenty-five and thirty-five million dollars on advertising last year. Their case weak, they did not try reason in many cases, they "tried to pin the bolshevik idea" on their opponents. Their expenses before legislatures are largely unaccounted for. \$19,250 in Pennsylvania is entirely unaccounted for. The Georgia director burned all his records before the Commission could find out what was in them, leaving about \$200,000 unaccounted for.

The Power Lobby From the Inside

One of their own publicity men, Jas. B. Sheridan, of St. Louis, in charge of the Missouri power trust committee, wrote to his immediate superior, telling the story from the inside: "What can we do when the financiers will inflate, overcapitalize, sell securities based on blue sky or hot air, and rates must be kept up to pay yreturns and said blue sky and hot air? ... I believe in private initiative, but I do not believe in subsidizing it 3 to 6 cents per k. w. h. ... the bankers in the electrical industry do not appreciate what a fat thing they had had in the past 7 years. They do not appreciate the enormous value of the monopoly feature. They do not appreciate that electric light and power properties are not loaded dice to be employed in a crap game in which investors and the public are injured. ..."

An appreciation for the good work done by The New Leader for the Labor Movement
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
Branch 5
Voice of Labor
Bernard Steinman, Secretary

Mr. Spargo Raises Judas \$20

The Old Bennington Patriot Replies To The New Leader's Open Letter

THE NEW LEADER has received the following statement from Mr. John Spargo in answer to our open letter in the issue of June 30. We give space to it and our comment follows his statement.

To the Editors of The New Leader:

Through the courtesy of an old friend, an old and honored member of the Socialist Party, I have received a clipping from your issue of June 30, containing your "Open Letter to John Spargo and Frank Bohn." It has just reached me. I had not previously seen or even heard of it. Indeed, so remote is my life from your world that I was not even aware of the existence of The New Leader.

For some reason not clear to me your "Open Letter" is addressed jointly to Frank Bohn and me. For a number of reasons I cannot join with Mr. Bohn in making the joint reply which your letter seems to call for. I have no association with Mr. Bohn, professional, political or social, nor have I had such associations in many years. During my "unregenerate days" in the Socialist Party we were generally on opposite sides, as old members of the party will recall. I have not seen Mr. Bohn in nine years. I think of (To avoid possible misinterpretation of the foregoing, let me add that I have only the most friendly respect for Mr. Bohn. In particular, I honor him for the position he took against the war policy of the Socialist Party in 1917. While I would make my position clear, I would not have it believed that in doing so I cast any sort of aspersion against Mr. Bohn. It is simply a fact that I am not in any way associated with him. I do not belong to any organization of which he is a member. I do not know what his political views or affiliations are.)

Sacrifices the Roses

It is a trifle difficult to make an individual reply to charges directed against and questions addressed to another jointly with one's self. Availing myself of the cool afternoon breeze I shall do the best I can. The bugs on the roses can wait.

You say: "You have probably been following Sheridan's testimony before the investigators for the Federal Trade Commission into the propaganda work of the utilities. It may be that these newspaper stories have worried you a bit and you are wondering what you are going to say when you are called to the stand."

I reply: (1) I have not "been following Sheridan's testimony." I read so much of it as was printed in the edition of the "New York Times" which comes here, and no more. (2) I know nothing about the matter concerning which Sheridan gave testimony, or about the man himself. (3) I have been mildly amused to note that the power and light companies have been abused and condemned for subsidizing propaganda against public ownership in schools, and that the well-known fact that subsidized propaganda in favor of public ownership was carried on through schools and colleges years before the power and light companies began their counter-propaganda, and is still being carried on. (4) I have neither "worried" nor wondered what I shall say if and when I am "called to the stand." Your guess under this head is wide of the mark in so far as I am concerned. I have not the slightest idea that anybody will call me as a witness in the investigations, or that anyone in authority will be so ill-informed as to suppose that I can give any information. If, however, I should be called I should respond as a good citizen and tell all that I actually know about it. And that "all" can be summed up in this: I have no knowledge of any propaganda against public ownership carried on through the medium of schools or colleges, but I do have knowledge of an extensively organized propaganda directed against private ownership and in favor of public ownership, carried on through the medium of schools and colleges over a long period of years. As a paid lecturer, receiving my pay, not from the colleges and schools, but from the funds of a national organization created and maintained for such propaganda, I have participated in such "educational work." (5) If asked my opinion (which is most unlikely) I should confess myself unable to suggest any good reason why a defense of the existing order should not be entered to counteract attacks against it.

Never Spoke to Boy Scouts

You say that one Hungerford "got \$15,000 for his book on the utilities that the school children of New York are now studying," and that college professors

got fees ranging from \$1,000 to \$50 for speaking and writing against public ownership. In view of these facts, or allegations, you ask "How much do you get for an article from your bosses, over and above what the papers give you?" How much for a lecture before a woman's club, a talk to a Rotary meeting, a bed-time story for the Boy Scouts?"

I reply: Merely to make a negative answer to your insolent questions here repeated would leave the way open for further questions of a like nature. As I do not intend to be drawn into further discussion, I shall take pains to make my position so clear that not even you can pretend to see in it any evasion. (1) I have never owned a share of stock in any light, power, or traction company. (2) I do not know personally any responsible executive officer of any such company in this country. (3) I do not know the publicity director of any such company, nor any man or woman known to be engaged in the publicity work of any such company. (4) I have never written as much as a single line for publication in any paper or magazine published by or in the interests of any utility companies, and have never received one dollar in payment for work or services of any kind from any such publication. (5) I have never sold any work of mine, or rendered any services to such publications indirectly through the medium of syndicates or agencies of any kind. (6) I have never received a dollar from any utility company or companies, committee representing such companies, or any individual or organization, in return for writing, lecturing, giving information or counsel, or for any other services of any kind.

As you know, during many years I lectured extensively as a professional lecturer. Outside of the fee paid by the regular authority of the organization, I never (except as hereafter explained) in the course of my career received from any source whatever any fee or reward of any kind. The exception referred to was in the case of my employment as a lecturer by the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society, when the fees paid by the organizations were inadequate and the balance was made up out of the funds of the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society, collected for the purpose. I have never received one cent in my life from any utility company, or its agents, or individuals interested in any such company, as a fee for lecturing, as a bonus supplementary to fees otherwise received, as gift, contribution to expenses, or for any other purpose or reason whatsoever. I will add to this statement that no such money was ever offered to me and no suggestion ever made to me that money could be so obtained.

It really does not concern anybody but myself, but the fact is that in recent years I have practically given up lecturing. The few lectures I have given have been nearly all given without fee and upon subjects far remote from public ownership and kindred questions. For example, I never spoke for a woman's club against public ownership, either with or without fee; I probably spoke for hundreds of such clubs in favor of public ownership, and in most cases for a fee. I never spoke for a fee at a Rotary meeting in my life, and never on the subject of public ownership that I can now recall. I never spoke to Boy Scouts in my life.

I believe that I have replied to your questions, so far as they were addressed to me, in terms precise and explicit enough to satisfy anybody who is honest. You can take it from me that if I were associated with the publicity or propaganda work of the power and light companies, or other utility companies, I should take professional pride in doing the job as well as I could and in signing my name to my work and being personally identified with my job. (Let me here anticipate your rejoinder and observe that it is not a bid for a job: I am not in the market). I believe that the utility companies are justified in waging the best campaign of publicity they can to counteract the destructive propaganda directed against them. Because I believe that government ownership is opposed to progress, to freedom, to the best interest of mankind, I necessarily

believe that in fighting public ownership and defending private ownership the responsible heads of the great public utilities are serving mankind, however limited their own vision may be and however selfish their motives.

The "Editors of the New Leader" who have addressed this "Open Letter" to me are unknown to me. I know not who they are, but I do know that there is no excuse for a misapprehension of my views and my position as they have manifested in their letter. Take, for example, this statement: "When you deserted the Socialist Party at one of the most critical periods in its history and went over to the enemy, you gave the world to understand that you have an honest change of heart." As you applied to me, that statement is a silly lie, as the record will show. I left the party—"deserted" it, if you prefer the word—by openly resigning, not because I had had a "change of heart," but because, in my judgment, the Socialist Party by its war policy was betraying mankind and committing a crime against civilization. I still believe that. I have no apologies to make for my stand by the American nation and its allies in the great conflict. The Socialist Party stands condemned in the minds of right-thinking men and women for the crime of 1917, when it departed from its own path to accept the leadership of a sinister combination of pro-Germans and sly pacifists. That is the verdict of today; it will be the verdict of fifty years hence.

Long after I left the Socialist Party I remained a Socialist and preached Socialism through the Social Democratic League and otherwise. It was much later, in the early post-war period, facing the great problems of reconstruction, that I saw—as every economist of note in the world, including some of the leading Socialist economists, saw—that reconstruction could only be achieved through an immense expansion of capitalism. Socialist in the sense of governmentally owned and operated industries was at once rendered obsolete and reactionary. It could not conceivably be made flexible enough to meet the needs of the time. Russia was and is a terrible demonstration of this. The vast augmentation of production, the gathering of an immense surplus for investment in other lands (which could not be regained without such investments) were possible under capitalism but could not have been possible under any form of economic organization to which the word Socialism could be applied.

\$20 Better Than Judas

I set forth my views along these lines in an article in "The Outlook." Because that article was reprinted in pamphlet form and distributed by a great insurance company, I will say that "The Outlook" paid me fifty dollars for the article, as I remember it, and not one penny beyond that payment by the editors was ever received by me from any source whatever for that article. When the manager of the insurance company asked for permission to reprint it, I was glad to give the permission, without royalty or fee of any kind.

Through the post-war period I have seen capitalism—which was supposed to be in extremis and doomed to perish at the first crisis—not only surviving, but expanding the wastes of the Great War, redeeming every hand, and, at the same time, overcoming ill after ill, elevating the conditions of millions of men and women in all lands. I have seen this and am content to pin my faith to it for the present and the future.

A radical change? Why yes, of course. But what can be said of men who have lived through the Great War and its aftermath and have not changed their lives at all, but go on repeating the old formulas in the same old way, offering for the world of 1928 the same economic solutions they offered in 1908 and 1898? Could there be plainer evidence of mental ossification?

While you go on preaching the old doctrines of class war and irreconcilable conflict, the leaders of organized capital and the leaders of organized labor are quietly but steadily and surely working out plans of harmonious cooperation in the realization of genuine industrial com-

monwealth. You gabble; they work.

Now, Messrs. "The Editors of the New Leader," here is the statement you asked for, with the fullest and most unequivocal answers to your questions. Publish it!

JOHN SPARGO.

Old Bennington, Vermont.

BY WAY OF REPLY

WE accept Mr. Spargo's assertion that he has not received any of the power interests' money for his support of capitalism. Still, we hope that he will eventually be called before the Federal Trade Commission. One never knows when a good man will go astray. However, we note that Mr. Spargo is "amused" over the objections raised to the propaganda of power and light companies, considering that others have carried on propaganda in schools and colleges for public ownership. John himself carried on agitation for public ownership in these institutions, he declares, and was paid for it by "a national organization created and maintained for such propaganda."

This is his defense for the power magnates which completely ignores the indictment brought against them. They have worked under cover. They have secretly altered text books in the schools or had them altered to suit the interests of their class. They have sent lectures into educational institutions who were secretly on their payroll. They were not honest. Their flag was hidden. They struck below the belt.

We have no objection to the power interests or any other powerful section of the capitalist class openly presenting their claims, meeting their opponents in open discussion, frankly stating that their speakers represent their class. This they will not do. They skulk in the shadows. They secretly poison the editorial and news columns of the daily press.

The Intercollegiate Socialist Society, later the League for Industrial Democracy, the organizations Mr. Spargo has in mind, have sent their speakers, including Spargo at one time, to educational institutions. They were not disguised. Everybody knew whom they represented. The covert capitalist propaganda which Spargo now defends is a cowardly propaganda. Its sponsors fear that it would not have force if its real backers were known. If Spargo is unable to understand the ethics of this we are not surprised. He has made his peace with this crowd. He admits it in the communication above.

Tell It to the Workers

Mr. Spargo has now become a complete convert to capitalism. All that is necessary to accept his views is to close our eyes, ignore facts, and speak at patriotic village celebrations. Capitalism, he declares, is "redeeming the wastes of the Great War" and "overcoming ill after ill, elevating the conditions of millions of men and women in all lands."

In plain words, this is bunk. Mr. Spargo, we invite you to go West and tell hundreds of thousands of American farmers of this country of this discovery of yours. Then go to the bituminous coal fields. The miners are under the peculiar illusion that they are suffering from lack of food and clothing. The textile workers are laboring under similar illusions. Some four millions of unemployed men and women would like to hear your cheerful views.

Then we ask Mr. Spargo to contemplate the "redeemers" which the "war for democracy" spawned abroad. There are the dictators in Cuba, Italy, Hungary, Lithuania and a few other countries. Elementary human freedom is strangled and in the United States heresy hunts have become an essential industry.

Moreover, the big capitalist powers with colonies have reestablished slavery in various forms in many of their colonies. The reports of the French, British and Dutch delegates to the recent International Labor and Socialist Congress in Brussels present a wealth of facts, including laws, regulations and decisions of colonial officials, which show that capitalism has established forced labor in these regions. It is a process of intense sweating of weaker peoples, enslaving them for the enrichment of capitalists and bankers. The man who can as-

sert in the face of these facts that capitalism is "redeeming" the world is either an ignoramus or a hypocrite.

Mr. Spargo says that men who have lived through the Great War and its aftermath and who repeat "the old formulas in the old way" reveal "evidence of ossification." Very well. The statements of the capitalist powers before the Great War declared that preparedness was the best insurance of peace. They prepared. Not even Mr. Spargo will insist that this policy brought peace. The Great War was the result.

An Earlier Spargo

Except for the Central Powers the capitalist nations have more arms than they had before the Great War while our statesmen subscribe to the view of preparedness to insure peace. Here are the old formulas, Mr. Spargo. They failed once. They will fail again.

What are our Socialist formulas? Disarmament. They are old, we admit, but it is a case of old capitalist formulas vs. old Socialist formulas. The first has horribly failed and humanity has paid a fearful price for it. Is it not a case of "mental ossification" for you and others like you to gabble about YOUR formulas which have failed and to sneer at ours which have not been tested?

One thing is sure. Nations cannot fight if they have no arms. Whatever else might happen, there can be no vast human carnage with disarmament. Can there, in your own words, "be plainer evidence of mental ossification" than you exhibit today?

Ever hear of James K. Paulding, Mr. Spargo? No? We will make you acquainted with him. Paulding was a citizen of New York and in 1817 he published several volumes based upon personal investigations of slavery in the South. He painted some hideous portraits of human bondage, especially the slave gangs chained together and driven under a hot sun for sale in the lower South. Perhaps the following excerpt from his writings will interest you:

"The sun was shining out very hot, and in turning an angle of the road we encountered the following group: first, a little cart drawn by one horse, in which five or six half naked children were tumbled like pigs together. The cart had no covering, and they seemed to have been actually broiled to sleep. Behind the cart marched three black women, with head, neck and breasts uncovered, and without shoes or stockings; next came three men, bareheaded, half naked, and chained together with an ox chain! Last of all came a white man—a white man, Frank!—on horseback, carrying pistols in his belt, and who, as we passed him, had the impudence to look us in the face without blushing."

Do you recognize this man, Mr. Spargo? Perhaps the sequel will help you. In 1835 Paulding brought out another edition of his writings and this and similar passages were omitted. The next year he published another book, "Slavery in the United States," which was a complete defense of capital invested in chattels. He declared that slavery "is becoming gradually divested of all its harsh features, and is now only the bugbear of the imagination." Slavery was "redeeming" civilization.

Mr. Spargo, you may not have been able to recognize the man. You certainly can recognize the creature. What do you think of him? Slavery was "becoming gradually divested of all its harsh features." Reads like John Spargo's testimony to the "redeeming" character of the capitalist oligarchy that rules the United States.

Paulding had become "respectable." He spoke at patriotic celebrations. He had supreme contempt for Abolitionists. He was sure that their "old formulas" were "evidence of ossification." And he received his reward. In 1838 President Van Buren gave him the post of Secretary of the Navy in his Cabinet.

Mr. Spargo, your faith in the "redeeming" tendencies of capitalism is surely worthy of Paulding's reward. "Gene Debs, Ralph Waldo Emerson, John Brown, Henry D. Thoreau, Bruno and others will sleep well despite their knowledge of the Pauldings and Spargos. You will pass and be forgotten. The others will live forever in the affections of mankind."

Finally, Mr. Spargo, in the words of your predecessor, James K. Paulding, we wonder that you have "the impudence to look us in the face without blushing."

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Wisconsin's "Research Magnificent"

A THIN, bespectacled man with the brow of a scholar and the flashing eyes of an enthusiast, stood up before the members of Fred Howe's School of Opinion, at the Tavern-on-the-Moors at Scituate, Mass., the other night and talked in informal manner about one of the most interesting educational experiments that is being carried on in this country today.

This was Alexander Meiklejohn, former President of Amherst College, now professor of Philosophy in Wisconsin University and director of the Experimental College at that institution.

Whatever you may think of the validity of his educational ideas, you must admit that Meiklejohn has had the rare courage to fight for them, until today he has seen them put to actual test on the campus at Madison.

For a year now some 120 Wisconsin freshmen have been living together in a hermit-like dormitory in an attempt at collective thinking about significant things.

It is Professor Meiklejohn's somewhat quaint and certainly refreshing conception of education in this country that it should teach our youngsters how to think and give them something to think about.

In the present state of university teaching, this idea is nothing short of revolutionary. Because he dared to express it, in season and out of season, at Amherst when he was President. Mr. Coolidge's Attorney General had none of him and finally threw him out on his ear with as little grace as they would discharge a rebellious janitor.

He was fortunate in finding a freer atmosphere at Wisconsin than in arid New England and after teaching there a year he went before the regents with this proposal.

"The first two years of college are pretty much of a waste of time," said the amazing man in effect to the regents. "It has been said of a Freshman that he comes to college expecting anything can happen and of a Sophomore that he has discovered that nothing will happen."

"Now suppose we set up an experiment in teaching young Americans to think and think about the right things during those first two years. Suppose we make an abrupt departure from the accepted lectures, note-taking and examinations and let the young men loose to find out things for themselves. Suppose, for example, we encourage them to study two important civilizations as a whole, rather than taking piecemeal courses in physics and metaphysics, economics and chemistry. If they can come to understand, let us say, the Greek Civilization of the Fifth Century at the time of Athenian supremacy, one of the periods in the world's history when the human spirit reached its loftiest heights, and then understand and compare civilization in America in the Nineteenth Century, they may not turn out to be expert bankers or plumbers, but they may very well develop into literally educated men, able to make scientific evaluations, free of intolerance and prejudice."

"And besides," said Meiklejohn, "there are plenty of vocational schools for turning out men with the minds of bankers and plumbers. There ought to be a few places for the prevention of making everybody into bankers or plumbers. What do you regents say?"

After much soul-searching said, "Go ahead."

I doubt very much if this happy result could have been brought about in any other place than Wisconsin.

It is quite a daring thing to give over into the hands of eleven teachers, who were by no means certain of their direction, the care of 120 young men around the ages of seventeen and eighteen and to assure the projectors of this magnificent research that the formal business of credits and degrees would be taken care of just as though the picked 120 were attending regular lectures in the university courses.

This is not to say that the 120 were selected from the student body of two or three thousand either because they were particularly bright or particularly dull or particularly well prepared or ill prepared. Meiklejohn and his ten colleagues, many of whom had been associated with him at Amherst were looking for a representative cross-section of the American college student. And they think they found it.

They segregated the group in a men's dormitory and then without much warning plunged them headlong into an intensive study of Greek civilization. They told these students, but few of whom had any knowledge of the Greek language and many of whom did not know whether a Pericles was a sea-urchin or a lost tribe, to go ahead and read the oration of Pericles over the Athenians killed in battle. There of course is one of the most moving passages of all that the Athenians were shooting at. It was the expression of a marvellously clear orientation of an entire city state. And they had read and digested this speech, many, but of course not all, of the youngsters had a pretty clear idea of the mental machinery that moved the Greeks.

From there on, in groups of twelve under the advice but not the dictatorship of one of the faculty, they tackled the economics and philosophy and politics of Athens. Every now and then all of them would come together to talk over the things they were digging up. Some of the specialists from the faculty of the regular university, or to put on the "Clouds" of Aristophanes or to play "The Electra," or to go into the workshop to dye stuffs or to weave things or to make sketches. In other words they were living Greek civilization as nearly as it is possible to live it in Wisconsin in 1928.

I have said that it is extremely doubtful if this sort of experiment could have been made in any other place than Wisconsin and I think the history of the University will bear me out.

When Progressives and Socialists first came into political power in that State and the "Wisconsin Idea" took form, the University received unusual attention from liberal-minded men and women of the country over the university which has for its regents such women as Mrs. Victor Berger and Zena Gale and such faculty members as John Commons and Hoxie and Perlman and Saposs and the others who wrote labor history and made educational history; could not fail to respond to such a challenge as Meiklejohn posed.

There are many intellectuals who ask of politics "what's the use? Politics cannot touch man's spiritual nature or his intellectual development."

For such as these the Experimental College at Wisconsin is irrefutable proof of what radical politics can do for the liberation of the human spirit.

Of course it raises doubts galore. To be sure it runs counter in many respects to all the accepted standards of formalized education and in departing from them, much may have been lost. But whatever your doubts or questionings, you cannot but cheer at the end for such a gallant achievement. And you cannot fail to render to the comparative political freedom of the State of Wisconsin just tribute for furnishing the atmosphere in which such an experiment can flourish.

McAlister Coleman.

"This Is Norman Thomas"

4—The World War a Turning Point

By W. E. Woodward

Author of "George Washington, The Man and The Image," "Bunk," "Lottery," and "Bread and Circuses."

WHEN, in 1914, the gray legions began to pour through Belgium, both the young rebels were brought smack up against the most difficult problem of their lives. They had read and digested well "The War of Steel and Gold" by Brailsford and all the rest of the anti-war literature on which they could lay their hands. How could one possibly reconcile the preaching of the Gospel of the Prince of Peace with the support of this thing? To be sure, the vast majority of parsons found an easy way out. This of course was a holy war, waged to end all wars, etc., etc. But there was no such easy solution for the troubled two, east of the slopes of Moraine. There was no holy war for them, and by God, they would say no word from their pulpits to condone mass murder.

They joined that pitifully small group of ministers who stood steadfastly against the war, while the drums beat outside their church windows, and everywhere the voice of the recruiting officer was heard in the land. Looking back after ten years, this may seem to many a perfectly obvious and by no means arduous course to pursue. As a matter of fact, while flags were being blessed in the churches of the city, and prayers offered up from the pulpits to the God of Battles to be with "our boys," it was by no means the easy thing to do. It meant social ostracism to begin with, (something which both Thomas and McCurdy regarded with extreme indifference) but it meant as well a thousand and one sneaking attempts to curtail their social work, to hold them up to their communities as slackers, in short, to make pariahs of them and all others who saw the war eye to eye with them. A man who had donated money for children's dolls cut short his gift because of

his health is concerned, but he continues to battle for the movement.

Eugene Debs Morton, Blairville, Pa., renews and sends in 2 more.

A subscription for every member of the newly formed local in Jacksonville, Fla., is the aim of Harry Feldman. Nothing is being left undone to make the Norman Thomas meeting a big success.

David G. George, Campaign Manager, Richmond, Va., keeps firing in orders for bundles of the New Leader.

Yes, we almost forgot. C. H. Owen, Crown Point, Ind., scores as usual. This time 6 subs.

WITH THE COMING OF AUTUMN BREEZES SHOWERS OF SUBS ARE EXPECTED. WHAT ARE YOU SUB-HUSTLERS AND NEAR-SUB-HUSTLERS GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

I am with you until Gabe plays his hosannas," says C. W. Villet of Glenwood Springs, Colo. He says that from the time of his birth, a little matter of 80 years ago, he was raised a Republican, but that he is for Socialism until gehenna is converted into a skating rink.

After a trip in a tin lizzie of 2,500 miles, Charles Brannon has reached Newlano, La. "I want to get back on the firing line while Norman Thomas is shelling the cohorts of capitalism. I must have The New Leader soon."

Two subs from Luther N. Smith, Hancock, N. H. "I will try for more," he says.

No Brass Check Wanted "I must have The New Leader regularly. I can't read the blah-blah in the baggy press for fear that I too will become an ass."—John M. Gance, Warren, R. I.

THE NEW LEADER-APPEAL FLOODS THE DARK POLITICAL PLACES WITH LIGHT. ONLY TWO MONTHS REMAIN UNTIL ELECTION DAY. A SUBSCRIBER TODAY MEANS A SOCIALIST VOTER IN NOVEMBER.

"The N. L. is so good, I dislike to miss an issue," says W. B. McNinch, Cincinnati, N. Y.

Eager? Yes A. H. Eager, Red Bluff, Cal., sends in a sub with a list of good prospects for the paper.

TODAY IS THE DAY TO SEND IN THOSE SUBS.

S. Lerner, Secretary of the Socialist Party, Omaha, Neb., sends for a bundle of 100 and is preparing to start an intensive campaign for subs.

State Organizer Sutton of New Jersey will see to it that those who attend the State picnic are provided with New Leaders.

Three dollars for sub cards and a renewal, \$2, from Jos. D. Schlamm, Brooklyn.

Ruby Herman of Seattle, Wash., orders 100 for the State Convention. She also desires to thank the comrades for the expressions of sympathy sent to Emil Herman during his recent illness. Emil is not yet out of the woods, so far as

clearly did they make it plain to the workers that this was indeed no war of theirs, that the old-line politicians in both parties were panic-stricken for a while.

Thomas Embraces the Cause of Peace Rumors of the huge vote that Hillquit seemed likely to win ran among all the city rooms and political headquarters of the town. Hurry calls for contributions and workers were sent out. Large and costly advertisements appeared in the papers prophesying the coming of a revolution, if the Socialists should win.

At the campaign headquarters of John Purroy Mitchell, the Union League crowd and other "respectables" who hoped to reel him on a so-called fusion ticket, ran round in circles, shoveling out money to canvassers and speakers in sums that opened wide the eyes of veteran campaigners. Tammany Hall, while not so spectacular in its outlay, sent word from Fourteenth Street to certain quiet-spoken young men who were not unacquainted with the use of blackjacks and revolvers that their services would be urgently needed to "watch" the Socialist vote on Election Day. From the Bronx to furthest Queens, Hillquit was talking to packed halls night after night, in English, Yiddish, German and Russian, and wherever his campaign car appeared, it became the focus-point of a rush of enthusiastic workers, eager to assure their candidate of their support.

The quiet young men, with their orders from the Hall, did their work most effectively, and an obscure Brooklyn judge, John F. Hyland, who had soft-pedaled the war talk, was elected Mayor. There are in New York today many shrewd political observers who maintain that Hillquit ran a good second and defeated Mitchell by thousands of votes. The official count, however, gave Mitchell second place by the narrowest of squeaks. The story runs that Mitchell, who had vigorously supported the war, although he was supposed to be "liberal" in his philosophy, was so enraged by the result of the election that he stormed like a madman as the returns came in, cursing his paid supporters and his most intimate friends. A short time afterward he was killed by falling from an airplane while practicing for overseas service.

Veterans in the Socialist Party look back at that campaign in which Thomas was the spur to the high-water mark of the rise of Socialism in New York City. While they did not elect their Mayor, the Socialists sent their assemblymen to Albany, and had representatives in the Aldermanic Chamber of New York City.

Thomas had remained within the official fold of the Presbyterian Church while he was supporting Hillquit. But now the time had come when it seemed no longer possible to stay with any organization which supported the war. In 1918, he definitely stepped out of church circles, and embarked on the perilous seas sailed by those few who dared actively to stand up against the warlords. He went on the executive committee of what was one of the most hated and generally reviled organizations in opposition to the war, the American Union Against Militarism. He went to Washington to appear for this organization, before the House of Representatives. When the peace-lovers should have some medium for their message, Thomas was made editor of that militantly pacifist magazine, "The World Tomorrow". This job was an anchor to windward, and one

very acceptable to an outlaw parson with a large family.

"Worse Than Debs,"—A Compliment From Burlington

From the outset, "The World Tomorrow" and its editor received the most assiduous attentions of the Department of Justice, and the other professional and amateur snoopers who were as thick as horseflies at a hitching-post in those days. Thomas gave great space in his paper to the reports of the swift developments of the Russian revolution, and he is proud of the fact that in his magazine there appeared for the first time in this country original documents, stating definitely the aims and purposes of the leaders of the Revolution. He was honored by the bitter comment of that bully-ragging postmaster, Albert Burlington, that "Thomas is more insidious than Debs."

Finding that everywhere the constitutional rights of citizens were being stamped into the mud of militarism, Thomas—together with Roger Baldwin and Hollingsworth Wood—started the Civil Liberties Bureau as a branch of the American Union Against Militarism. He was Vice-Chairman of that body, and most active in those feverish days when any expression whatsoever of dissent from the prevailing war mood rendered one liable to deportation or jail. One day the headquarters of the Bureau were raided, its records destroyed, and Baldwin, who was on hand at the time, was lugged off for a long third-degree. A short time later, Baldwin made his famous speech of defiance, at the time he was called up for the draft. Flatly he refused to register, or to have anything whatsoever to do with the whole war business, and forthwith he was thrown into jail, leaving Thomas and Wood to carry on the work of the Civil Liberties Bureau.

For his part, Thomas refused to take the exemption which was (for some unexplained reason) granted to all ministers, and told the authorities very frankly that he had conscientious objections to war. He saw his brother Evan being dragged off to jail as one of the leading conscientious objectors, and from Evan and Evan's friends he obtained much of the material about the brutal treatment of the C. O.'s which he was later to put into a memorable book, "The Conscientious Objector in America."


Now he was a full-fledged, card-carrying member of the Socialist Party. As Jim Maurer, his running mate this year, says, "What I like about Norman is that when the test came he did not run away like most of the intellectuals, but came out and stood shoulder to shoulder with those of us who were in the heat of the fight."

He came to the party at a time when its very existence seemed threatened by fierce internal row. The amazing Russian turnover had fired the imaginations of such young romantics as John Reed and his followers, who declared that nothing short of a violent overthrow in this country was worth bothering about, and who marched out of a Socialist convention to form a new "proletarian" party, modelled on Soviet lines. With the defection of these hotspurs, and the betrayal of all their Socialist principles by such war-shouters as John Spargo, William English Walling, Frank Bohn, Phelps Stokes, and others, the party seemed for a while doomed to rapid extinction.

No sooner was the war ended than a brazen-fronted attack was made on the Socialists, sponsored by the notorious Archibald Stevenson, and his bizarre Lusk Committee. This young snoopster had, during the war, threatened Thomas and other officials of the Civil Liberties Bureau with jail sentences, "more in sorrow than in anger," as he kept assuring Thomas. Stevenson had conveniently exonerated himself from real service in the army by undertaking the self-appointed job of "general inquirer of radicalism." He persuaded a publicity avid New York State Senator named Lusk to get up a snooping-committee, for which Stevenson was to be the investigator.

(Next Week:—At Albany: Tested in the Fires of Hysteria.)

Organization
Education
Solidarity



FREE YOUTH

JACK WASSERMAN EDITOR

Young People's
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Friendship

By Melville Cohen

"The desire for companionship is strong in every human heart." Man has a soul which must be satisfied by the spiritual comfort of a friend's love. In pain, in sorrow, in degradation, in joy and fame he yearns for some sympathetic heart, someone to whom he can reveal his innermost thoughts and desires. If he is enraptured by the sublimity and beauty of natural scenery; if he is enchanted by the magic of summer skies and glorious sunsets; if moved to tears or laughter by some entrancing book, his joy is never so great as when he can express his sentiments to another. "It takes one to bear grief but to be glad. We reach the divine through someone, and by dividing our joy with this one, we double it, and come in touch with the Universal." The turquoise of the sky is never so in spring; birds never sing so blithely; our acquaintances are never so gracious as when we are friends with someone. "I care not what riches a man possesses; how bright are his prospects; how consummate his talents; how resplendent the fame he has realized, his life is a comparatively barren and commonplace existence if not illumined by a gleam of love or friendship. Idealists have said that friendship can exist only between men of noble character; that every defective quality in a friend gradually severs the links that bind them, dissolving that which once gave such ineffable joy. In this essay we shall not be so dogmatic, but shall admit that the more delicate sort of friendship is likely to exist between men of spiritual rather than of material stamp. We should find no difficulty in confounding this state of friendship with

love, that is conjugal love, if we but remember that the latter derives most of its bliss from presence. There is another respect in which the two are distinct. Opposite temperaments often attract each other in love; but like seems to be attracted by like in friendship. Friendship is that state of mind in which two are attracted not only by the bonds of congeniality, but by finding in the affinity that indescribable something which makes a mutual appeal to two person-alities. "Friendship," said Emerson, "like the immortality of the soul is too good to be believed." The lover beholding his maiden half knows that she is not the thing which he worships; and in the golden hours of Friendship we often are surprised with shades of suspicion and unbelief. "We doubt that we bestow upon our hero the virtues in which he shines, and afterwards worship the form to which we have ascribed this divine habitation." But in this state of mind the perfection of some friendship which is akin to worship, delusion, as long as it lasts contributes to happiness. We know that some day we shall awaken as if from some dream to find that the perfection of some friend existed only in the imagination; but until then we would remain in delusion. And while we clothe our ideal with the virtues that he does not possess, we consciously try to fulfill the ideas worthy of the transcendent qualities that we have created.

Editors note: Melville Cohen is a New York Junior.

Invading New Bedford On Sunday, Sept. 2 the New York Yipsel delegation invaded New Bedford. The delegation was composed of Samuel Egan, Samuel Bookbinder, Louis Hyman, Aaron Panken, Ida Yavner, Ben Goodman, Winston Dancis, Esther Milgram and friend, Michael Aaron, Ab-

THE CHATTER BOX

Heilige Nacht

THIS night you were, all virgin, in my arms, Trusting your spirit's case to my dear keeping. You rested like tall corn stalk in the calms Late summer fills with promise of the reaping. Your dreams—did they grow tremulous with dragons And I the hero daring unto death For rescue, and feat love, and spicy flagons Quaffed at the wedding-feast—or did your breath, Stilled as spring dawn rhythmized as the ocean, Sweeten your dreamless slumber till the night Grew restless with the new day's far commotion And one by one the startled stars took flight? Was it a dream I held the creature of? Were you my love's dear semblance—or my love? JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY.

Heywood Brown, in this Tuesday's New York Telegram, makes a delightful decision by choosing to vote for Al Smith instead of Norman Thomas, just because it were better to lose out with one who is an opportunistic Progressive, than with one who has the puny backing of character, principle and fundamental truth. He praises the Socialist Platform. Says that most of its planks will some day be enacted into law. And all in all creates a case for the party of his august rejection, that makes one wonder how he will rationally explain his pretty choice. Finally one discovers, after wading through his labyrinthine reasoning, that Al promises gin, while Thomas offers only a few matters of unimportance, such as water power, old age pensions, abolition of the slums, poverty, social vice, etc.

Now on that issue, I will force no quarrel with the eminent intellect. There is something akin to godliness in the aroma of hootch, for fine minds. Prohibition has forced many of our best thinkers into such a votive posture before the divinity of booze, as only the few surviving bartenders fully understand. And because I have great respect for devotion in any form, there will be no attempt here to wean Mr. Brown from the hip-can, and fling him out into the cold world of economics.

Many of my comrades have already remarked bitterly on Mr. Brown's desertion. "It will hurt us with the liberals . . . with the LaFollette vote . . . with the intellectuals . . ."

To question the strength of our party and the ultimate result of our endeavors, on such a picaresque depression in the public press, is a sign of fundamental weakness foolishly displayed. Again, I must repeat, that we are growing entirely too nice and parlorish. Again I call on our traditions to come forth and help dispel this silly notion that we must beg or borrow or entice votes our way; and that we must weep or shiver over any noted defection from our alignment. Tut . . . tut and poof on such fears, old dears. . . . I for one of the Socialist Party have been kicked out of better places than Brown's Column . . . This latest of ejections has only served to convince me that we ought to stop flitting with the liberalized intelligentsia.

For in final consideration, these intellectual giants who sit on pedestals peaks and pose for statues of "The Thinker" are just fleshly fellows with petty habits, likes and dislikes of their own . . . These habits transcend anything of universal interest. . . . Many of them like their drinks . . . Prohibition has sharpened their styluses, angered their wits, and given wings to their judgment. They may have been Marxian scholars, and dues paying Socialists in the dim saloon past. They are cat-gut swigging punsters and anarchic anomalies today. They have the gift of typed gab. They can write on any popular subject and make out any side with equal seamlessness. They are just on step lower than the ad writer. The latter has at least published his dishonesty. I had always believed that Mr. Brown was a scintillant exception. In a state of his recent avowal for Gin and Smith, I still have faith in his essential honesty. But I am getting to doubt the state of his health. This worrying about the millenium of pre-war whiskey is indeed too much for even a newspaper man. I am just wondering if Mr. Brown has made this momentous decision in momentary rebellion against his bootlegger. Perhaps a change of moonshiners might bring the lad back into the fold. I might volunteer but my own procurer has the most awful stuff. I almost turned Communist after a swig from his last delivery. Recommendations from our readers are in order.

On a River Boat.

Your prow churns the muddy jade of the river into milk that blotches in aimless spots beneath the surface. Does the mad ecstasy of the waters make you writhe your way up to lie in senseless bubbles on the surface? THE OFFICE BOY

And now that vacationing is over, dear contribs, get back to work and help make my own job here lighter. Gremion Zorn, Sol Portnow, Lucia Trent, the Office Boy and Bud Shipley have pitched in right early. Thanks, thanks to ye, my worthy friends for the aid so aptly given . . . Campaign time is on me, and I shall have much to shout forth against the street cars and Subway thunder, and so little energy left for scribbling . . . Which also announces that Congress is calling me from somewhere in the Bronx . . . As modest as ever.

S. A. de Witt.

The Mob

The "Mob's" not educated And can't be made to see That things were all created For Wealth to hold in fee. It talks of antiquated Old stuff like "liberty," And thinks it ought to have a word In running matters—how absurd!

The "Mob" should pay its taxes And never mind the rest, While we—wring our axes And know the land is blest; Our wealth it ever waxes, And 'all is for the best'; The "Mob" should pay its food and rent And go to work and be content.

The "Mob" cannot be trusted; If it should have its way, Our schemes would all be busted, And spoiled the game we play. We'd have to quit—disgusted— And go to work some day, While now we get our little share of The plunder—and are "taken care of."

Berton Draley.

EXTORTION OR SERVICE: THE POWER ISSUE

By James H. Maurer

The Socialist platform makes a clear and simple choice between an industry run for high profit—developed out of our natural water and coal resources, dominating our elections, corrupting our school and press—and a public owned power system.

Over eight billion dollars are already invested in the electric power industry and within another fifteen years it will probably have passed the railroads in size of investment. It has—and has shown it has—the power to dictate to the two old parties.

Control of 50 per cent of the power produced annually is already in the hands of five companies—The Electric Bond and Share group has 18.3%. The Insull group has 10.9%. The Northeastern (New York—New England) group has 9.3%. The North American has 6.7%. The Standard Gas and Electric has 4.6%.

Control of another thirty percent is now in the hands of 10 other companies. Fifteen companies control 80 per cent of all electric utility power produced in the United States today. Four-fifths of the power that lights our homes and turns our wheels is in the hands of fifteen companies and their bankers. This is a concentration of control it took the railroads almost a hundred years to achieve. We have let the power companies accomplish it in thirty years.

Still a Chance to Break the Power of Monopoly

We have an immediate opportunity to save some of our remaining natural resources from the wreckage—from the monopoly of private ownership. If the rushing powers of the Colorado River (at Boulder Dam), of the Tennessee River (at Muscle Shoals), of the St. Lawrence River (in Northern New York State), of the Columbia River (in Washington), of the Potomac (at Great Falls) are given into the hands of the private companies, there will be no hope of securing for the public the advantages of the country's great natural endowments. Their monopoly will be practically complete. There will then be no yardstick by which their efficiency in service or rates can be measured.

The Socialist Party demands public development of these resources. They will furnish us with five Ontario on the side of the border, five government corporations or authorities dedicated to the proposition that the people, rather than the private companies, should get the natural advantages of our own stream and rivers.

In Ontario the domestic consumer pays two cents a kilowatt hour for lighting. In the United States they pay an average of seven cents. Coming from Niagara the power is about a cent cheaper than power in the United States. Three cents a kilowatt hour is our half-off tribute to private efficiency in the United States. Three cents a kilowatt hour on the \$6,000,000,000 kwhs. that were used in the homes of this country in 1927 is a matter of \$489,000,000. This is what the greatest lobby of all time is fighting for when it prevents the passage of the Boulder Dam bill, when President Coolidge vetoes the Muscle Shoals bill, when Insull buys himself a United States Senator, when the power companies back Herbert Hoover for President.

The power companies have learned how to regulate legislation. Some of their present lobbyists are men who were formerly members of the state public service commissions. We are not foolish enough to believe that they did not earn their jobs before they left the commissions.

The power companies have regulated our state commissions to the place where they all claim and make us pay seven and eight per cent on an imaginary investment. "The nightmare of valuation" hangs over us, as Joseph Eastman, Interstate Commerce Commissioner, states. If the railroad companies are allowed to do what the power companies have already done, railroad rates will jump 50% over what they are now. The power companies already have that jump on us.

Corruption of Press and School

The power companies realize how much money they stood to lose and how much the public stood to gain if government development of Muscle Shoals, Boulder Dam and the St. Lawrence were effected. To prevent this they took the money that we had paid in rates and used it to open the newspaper columns to their interests in the struggle to retain their power. Parties and drinks are given to reporters. Larger advertising appropriations, growing every year, are open the editorial columns of the small town papers throughout the country. One of their lobbyists was so keen as to say that "I represent eight million dollars that says that Boulder is a shall stay in private control". They employed men of high position in Washington to defeat Senator Walsh's investigation of their activities. Ex-Senator Lenroot (a Hoover supporter) was a Republican counsel before the Senate Committee. Ex-Senator Thomas was a Democratic counsel before that committee. Both were well paid for their services and influences. They spent thousands of dollars flooding Congress with telegrams whenever an important vote on power matters came up during the last session. It has been estimated that they have spent a million dollars a year blocking the Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam bills. What they have done to threaten and scare senators and congressmen up for re-election, will probably never be known. They have let their money (collected from us) talk in no uncertain tones.

They have spent hundreds and hundreds of thousands of dollars printing self information, their half-truths, and smoothly concealed lies, and smuggling them into the school-rooms of almost every state in the nation—"a crime against youth", it was called by the Secretary of the National Educational As-

"The (power) industry has done enough to dirty the waters of our public life. It is time we had the key water power positions that remain to us operating under government ownership."

sociation. They have subsidized whole departments of universities in order to acquire for themselves the aroma of respectability. They have paid college professors for the use of their name. They have lured about municipally owned power developments in this country and in Ontario. They have stood up and told the truth about them. They have set in motion a machinery for controlling public opinion and private interests such as this country has never seen before.

The Present Issue

Hunted to the light, they shout in brazen impudence that they will not stop—that they will go on with this propaganda, with this corruption of public opinion that has already made them a menace to free government in this country. We may expect the worst from them. In the Illinois senatorial election Insull contributed to both parties,

and George Brennan, the Democratic nominee for senator explained "many power companies and financiers go to both parties and even to factions in both parties. They have too. If they gave to just one all the time what do you suppose would happen when others got into power." A United States senator then was worth \$150,000 to one public utility man alone. Since that time an indignant public opinion has forced the Senate to a vote on Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam. Senators who will oppose these measures are worth more to the power companies. A President who will veto such measures is worth millions to them every year. We may expect to see some of these millions spent during this election.

The issue is whether such great money resources, unscrupulously used, should prevent the people of the United States from sharing in the great industrial revolution that electric power is bringing

about, or whether the industry shall be told in ringing terms to furnish service at cost and remove its sinister and corrupting decay from our public life for once and all.

Herbert Hoover has been the constant apologist of the electric power industry. In 1925 he went before the National Electric Light Association Convention in Los Angeles and gave them a clean bill of health at the very moment they were voting more money for the corruption of press and schools. He gave them for their propaganda use a statement that they were not earning more than six per cent on their investment—an absurd falsehood. He said that regulation was adequate and satisfactory at a time when every honest public service commission in this country had taken occasion to criticize the working of our regulatory system. He has allowed himself to be supported by public utility men in all parts of the country. He has attempt-

ed to gain credit by supporting Boulder Dam when he is actually against public development of any kind, and has said so again and again. Secretary Mellon, who dictated Hoover's nomination after receiving his terms for it, is the owner of large public utility companies throughout the country. His support of Hoover can mean only one thing.

Southern Power Men are Democrats

The big power magnates of the South are Democrats. Governor Smith will have to deal with them to retain a control of Congress in case he is elected. His own appointees to the New York State Public Service Commission are conservative and power companies in New York earn 8% on an inflated investment and are allowed to merge without guaranteeing to the public any advantages from the economies effected. He does not even favor public transmission of power

from the St. Lawrence.

The Socialist Party alone stands for public ownership and control of the generation, transmission and distribution of electrical power—the only means by which the consumers can be protected against the present exploitation and the exploitation to come.

After it had been proved and proved and proved over again, until it was too plain for even the most contented old party politicians to ignore, that Muscle Shoals leased to private power interests on their terms was a rank gift, on a par with Teapot Dome, and Congress, frightened of opinion at home if it approved such a gift, voted for public development, then President Coolidge, retiring from office, helped the power people out. He did not dare to veto the bill.

Was This Honorable

There was nothing Mr. Coolidge could have said that had not been nailed as a lie on the floor of the Senate for years.

There was no offer from the private companies for the \$158,000,000 government plant that was anything but laughable. Afraid that the power companies would refuse contributions in the campaign, he helped them out. He did not sign the bill. He did not refuse to sign it. Doing what he had been put there to do, he hid the bill in his pocket and a technicality that Congress adjourns rather than recesses during the summer, managed to do away with it. A dirty hole and corner way of doing it. The way of a man who does the dirty thing he is put there to do as quietly as possible, hoping that decent people won't happen to be looking when he does it.

Former Senator Lenroot was the paid lobbyist of the power utilities to prevent the Senate from passing the Walsh resolution for an investigation of the power companies activity in politics, press and schools. He succeeded in having that resolution beaten. He was Herbert Hoover's firm supporter from the start. At the Kansas City Convention he was Herbert Hoover's personal attorney in the contests for Southern delegates that Hoover had paid for and wanted delivered. One day he was at Kansas City helping his man to get the Republican nomination. The next Monday he was right back in Washington trying to prevent the Federal Trade Commission from getting the real facts about what the power lobby had done and is doing to govern this country for the profit of the power companies.

A citizen has to be a very babe in the woods not to see where Herbert Hoover stands on the control of this country by the private power people.

Robinson Bats .667 For the Power Gang

Joe Robinson, of Arkansas, candidate for Vice-President on the Democratic ticket, had three chances during the last session to show how he stands on the power issue. He is the side-kick of Smith, who is supposed to be all right on power. He is the living announcement that the Southern Democrats are just as much private power people as the Northern Republicans. He voted right on Muscle Shoals. That was too raw for anybody except a man definitely retiring from office to stand. He voted against the Walsh resolution to investigate the power industry. He didn't want any such investigation. He voted wrong, he voted against the Boulder Dam bill. His batting average was .333 for the people and .667 for the power crowd.

The true meaning of the "Coolidge Economy" can be seen in the systematic and prolonged starvation of the Federal Power Commission. This Commission was charged with seeing that none of the inflation of investment that marks the rest of the industry is allowed in waterpower developments. That annoyed the private power interests. They saw to it that no funds were voted by Congress to allow this Commission to do its work properly. The Commission struggled along for a time, borrowing help from this and that department of government, and then, unable to do the duty assigned to it by law, struck. Its work is not being done now.

The Coolidge economy worked. The Federal Power Commission is starved out. The power people have, for the moment, gotten rid of an embarrassing contrast, the difference between waterpower developments that can not charge rates on an inflated valuation and their own plants. They hope to elect their candidates this fall aid avoid another contract embarrassing to them, that of seeing Muscle Shoals, Boulder Dam, the St. Lawrence and other key power positions giving cheap service, making the power of our streams and rivers available for use for all rather than for the profit of a few.

The power lobby spends about one million dollars a year in the country to get good will for itself, to get legislatures, to Congress, to get school teachers and editors and public service commissions to do what it wants them to do. The combined utilities spent somewhere between twenty-five and thirty-five million dollars on advertising last year. Their case weak, they tried to pin the "boleshevik idea" on their opponents. Their expenses before legislatures are largely unaccounted for. \$19,250 in Pennsylvania is entirely unaccounted for. The Georgia director burned all his records before the Commission could find out what was in them, leaving about \$200,000 unaccounted for.

The Power Lobby From the Inside

One of their own publicity men, Jas. B. Sheridan, of St. Louis, in charge of the Missouri power trust committee, wrote to his immediate superior, telling the story from the inside: "What can we do when the financiers will inflate, overcapitalized, sell securities based on blue sky or hot air, and rates must be kept up to pay pretensions and said blue sky and hot air? . . . I believe in private initiative, but I do not believe in subsidizing it 3 to 6 cents per k. w. h. . . the bankers in the electrical industry do not appreciate what a fat thing they had had in the past 7 years. They do not appreciate the enormous value of the monopoly feature. They do not appreciate that electric light and power properties are not loaded dice to be employed in a crap game in which investors and the public are injured. . ."

An appreciation for the good work done
by The New Leader
for the Labor Movement
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
Branch 5
Voice of Labor
Bernard Steinman, Secretary

THE NEW LEADER has received the following statement from Mr. John Spargo in answer to our open letter in the issue of June 30. We give space to it and our comment follows his statement.

To the Editors of The New Leader:

Through the courtesy of an old friend, an old and honored member of the Socialist Party, I have received a clipping from your issue of June 30, containing your "Open Letter" to John Spargo and Frank Bohn. It has just reached me. I had not previously seen or even heard of it. Indeed, so remote is my life from your world that I was not even aware of the existence of The New Leader.

For some reason not clear to me your "Open Letter" is addressed jointly to Frank Bohn and me. For a number of reasons I cannot join with Mr. Bohn in making the joint reply which your letter seems to call for. I have no associations with Mr. Bohn, professional, political or social, nor have I had such associations in many years. During my "unregenerate days" in the Socialist Party we were generally on opposite sides, as old members of the party will recall. I have not seen Mr. Bohn in nine years, I think. (To avoid possible misinterpretation of the foregoing, let me add that I have only the most friendly respect for Mr. Bohn. In particular, I honor him for the position he took against the war policy of the Socialist Party in 1917. While I would make my position clear, I would not have it believed that in doing so I cast any sort of aspersion against Mr. Bohn. It is simply a fact that I am not in any way associated with him. I do not belong to any organization of which he is a member. I do not know what his political views or affiliations are.)

Sacrifices the Roses

It is a trifle difficult to make an individual reply to charges directed against and questions addressed to another jointly with one's self. Availing myself of the cool afternoon breeze I shall do the best I can. The bugs on the roses can wait.

You say: "You have probably been following Sheridan's testimony before the investigators for the Federal Trade Commission into the propaganda work of the utilities. It may be that these newspaper stories have worried you a bit and you are wondering what you are going to say when you are called to the stand."

I reply: (1) I have not been following Sheridan's testimony. I read so much of it as was printed in the edition of the "New York Times" which comes here, and no more. (2) I know nothing about the matter concerning which Sheridan gave testimony, or about the man himself. (3) I have been mildly amused to note that the power and light companies have been abused and condemned for subsidizing propaganda against public ownership in schools, and that the well-known fact that subsidized propaganda in favor of public ownership was carried on through schools and colleges years before the power and light companies began their counter-propaganda, and is still being carried on. (4) I have neither "worried" nor wondered what I shall say if and when I am "called to the stand." Your guess under this head is wide of the mark in so far as I am concerned. I have not the slightest idea that anybody will call me as a witness in the investigations, or that anyone in authority will be so ill-informed as to suppose that I can give any information. If, however, I should be called I should respond as a good citizen and tell all that I actually know about it. And that "all" can be summed up in this: I have no knowledge of any propaganda against public ownership carried on through the medium of schools or colleges, but I do have knowledge of an extensively organized propaganda directed against private ownership and in favor of public ownership, carried on through the medium of schools and colleges over a long period of years. As a paid lecturer, receiving my pay, not from the colleges and schools, but from the funds of a national organization created and maintained for such propaganda, I have participated in such "educational work." (5) If asked my opinion (which is most unlikely) I should confess myself unable to suggest any good reason why a defense of the existing order should not be entered to counteract attacks against it.

Never Spoke to Boy Scouts

You say that one Hungerford "got \$15,000 for his book on the utilities that the school children of New York are now studying," and that college professors

got fees ranging from \$1,000 to \$50 for speaking and writing against public ownership. In view of these facts, or allegations, you ask "How much do you get for an article from your bosses, over and above what the papers give you? How much for a lecture before a woman's club, a talk to a Rotary meeting, a bed-time story for the Boy Scouts?"

I reply: Merely to make a negative answer to your insolent questions here reprinted would leave the way open for further questions of a like nature. As I do not intend to be drawn into further discussion, I shall take pains to make my position so clear that not even you can pretend to see in it any evasion. (1) I have never owned a share of stock in any light, power, or traction company. (2) I do not know personally any responsible executive officer of any such company in this country. (3) I do not know the publicity director of any such company, nor any man or woman known to be engaged in the publicity work of any such company. (4) I have never written as much as a single line for publication in any paper or magazine published by or in the interests of any utility companies, and have never received one dollar in payment for work or services of any kind from any such publication. (5) I have never sold any work of mine, or rendered any services to such publications indirectly through the medium of syndicates or agencies of any kind. (6) I have never received a dollar from any utility company or companies, committee representing such companies, or any individual or organization, in return for writing, lecturing, giving information or counsel, or for any other services of any kind.

As you know, during many years I lectured extensively as a professional lecturer. Outside of the fee paid by the regular authority of the organization, I never (except as hereafter explained) in the course of my career received from any source whatever any fee or reward of any kind. The exception referred to was in the case of my employment as a lecturer by the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society, when the fees paid by the organizations were inadequate and the balance was made up out of the funds of the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society, collected for the purpose. I have never received one cent in my life from any utility company, or its agents, or individuals interested in any such company, as a fee for lecturing, as a bonus supplementary to fees otherwise received, as gift, contribution to expenses, or for any other purpose or reason whatsoever. I will add to this statement that no such money was ever offered to me and no suggestion ever made to me that money could be so obtained.

It really does not concern anybody but myself, but the fact is that in recent years I have practically given up lecturing. The few lectures I have given have been nearly all given without fee and upon subjects far remote from public ownership and kindred questions. For example, I never spoke for a woman's club against public ownership, either with or without fee; I probably spoke for hundreds of such clubs in favor of public ownership, and in most cases for a fee. I never spoke for a fee at a Rotary meeting in my life, and never on the subject of public ownership that I can now recall. I never spoke to Boy Scouts in my life.

Upholds Utilities Companies

I believe that I have replied to your questions, so far as they were addressed to me, in terms precise and explicit enough to satisfy anybody who is honest. You can take it from me that if I were associated with the publicity or propaganda work of the power and light companies, or other utility companies, I should take professional pride in doing the job as well as I could and in signing my name to my work and being personally identified with my job. (Let me here anticipate your rejoinder and observe that it is not a bid for a job: I am not in the market). I believe that the utility companies are justified in waging the best campaign of publicity they can to counteract the destructive propaganda directed against them. Because I believe that government ownership is opposed to progress, to freedom, to the best interest of mankind, I necessarily

believe that in fighting public ownership and defending private ownership the responsible heads of the great public utilities are serving mankind, however limited their own vision may be and however selfish their motives.

The "Editors of The New Leader" who have addressed this "Open Letter" to me are unknown to me. I know not who they are, but I do know that there is no excuse for a misapprehension of my views and my position as they have manifested in their letter. Take, for example, this statement: "When you deserted the Socialist Party at one of the most critical periods in its history and went over to the enemy, you gave the world to understand that you have an honest change of heart." As applied to me, that statement is a silly lie, as the record will show. I left the party—"deserted" it, if you prefer the word—openly resigning, not because I had had a "change of heart," but because, in my judgment, the Socialist Party by its war policy was betraying mankind and committing a crime against civilization. I still believe that. I have no apologies to make for my stand by the American nation and its allies in the great conflict. The Socialist Party stands condemned in the minds of right-thinking men and women for the crime of 1917, when it departed from its own path to accept the leadership of a sinister combination of pro-Germans and sly pacifists. That is the verdict of today; it will be the verdict of fifty years hence.

Long after I left the Socialist Party I remained a Socialist and preached Socialism through the Social Democratic League and otherwise. It was much later, in the early post-war period, facing the great problems of reconstruction, that I saw—as every economist of note in the world, including some of the leading Socialist economists, saw—that reconstruction could only be achieved through an immense expansion of capitalism. Socialist in the sense of governmentally owned and operated industries was at once rendered obsolete and reactionary. It could not conceivably be made flexible enough to meet the needs of the time. Russia was and is a terrible demonstration of this. The vast augmentation of production, the gathering of an immense surplus for investment in other lands (which could not regain their equilibrium without such investments) were possible under capitalism but could not have been possible under any form of economic organization to which the word Socialism could be applied.

\$20 Better Than Judas

I set forth my views along these lines in an article in "The Outlook." Because that article was reprinted in pamphlet form and distributed by a great insurance company, I will say that "The Outlook" paid me fifty dollars for the article, as remembered by me, and not one penny beyond that payment by the editors was ever received by me from any source whatever for that article. When the manager of the insurance company asked for permission to reprint it, I was glad to give the permission, without royalty or fee of any kind.

Through the post-war period I have seen capitalism—which was supposed to be in extremis and doomed to perish at the first crisis—not only surviving, but redeeming the wastes of the Great War, expanding on every hand, and, at the same time, overcoming ill after ill, elevating the conditions of millions of men and women in all lands. I have seen all this and am content to pin my faith to it for the present and the future.

A radical change? Why yes, of course. But what can be said of men who have lived through the Great War and its aftermath and have not changed their lives at all, but go on repeating the old formulas in the same old way, offering for the world of 1928 the same economic solutions they offered in 1908 and 1898? Could there be plainer evidence of mental ossification?

While you go on preaching the old doctrines of class war and irreconcilable conflict, the leaders of organized capital and the leaders of organized labor are quietly but steadily and surely working out plans of harmonious cooperation in the realization of genuine industrial com-

monwealth. You gabble; they work.

Now, Messrs. "The Editors of The New Leader," here is the statement you asked for, with the fullest and most unequivocal answers to your questions. Publish it!

JOHN SPARGO.

Old Bennington, Vermont.

BY WAY OF REPLY

WE accept Mr. Spargo's assertion that he has not received any of the power interests' money for his support of capitalism. Still, we hope that he will eventually be called before the Federal Trade Commission. One never knows when a good man will go astray. However, we note that Mr. Spargo is "amused" over the objections raised to the propaganda of power and light companies, considering that others have carried on propaganda in schools and colleges for public ownership. John himself carried on agitation for public ownership in these institutions, he declares and was paid for it by "a national organization created and maintained for such propaganda."

This is his defense for the power magnates which completely ignores the indictment brought against them. They have worked under cover. They have secretly altered text books in the schools or had them altered to suit the interests of their class. They have sent lecturers into educational institutions who were secretly on their payroll. They were not honest. Their flag was hidden. They struck below the belt.

We have no objection to the power interests or any other powerful section of the capitalist class openly presenting their claims, meeting their opponents in open discussion, frankly stating that their speakers represent their class. This they will not do. They skulk in the shadows. They secretly poison the editorial and news columns of the daily press.

The Intercollegiate Socialist Society, later the League for Industrial Democracy, the organizations Mr. Spargo has in mind, have sent their speakers, including Spargo at one time, to educational institutions. They were not disguised. Everybody knew whom they represented. The covert capitalist propaganda which Spargo now defends is a cowardly propaganda. Its sponsors fear that it would not have force if its real backers were known. If Spargo is unable to understand the ethics of this we are not surprised. He has made his peace with this crowd. He admits it in the communication above.

Tell It to the Workers

Mr. Spargo has now become a complete convert to capitalism. All that is necessary to accept his views is to close your eyes, ignore facts, and speak at patriotic village celebrations. Capitalism, he declares, is "redeeming the wastes of the Great War" and "overcoming ill after ill, elevating the conditions of millions of men and women in all lands."

In plain words, this is bunk. Mr. Spargo, we invite you to go West and tell hundreds of thousands of American farmers of this country of this discovery of yours. Then go to the bituminous coal fields. The miners are under the peculiar illusion that they are suffering from lack of food and clothing. The textile workers are laboring under similar illusions. Some four millions of unemployed men and women would like to hear your cheerful views.

Then we ask Mr. Spargo to contemplate the "redeemers" which the "war for democracy" spawned abroad. There are the dictators in Cuba, Italy, Hungary, Lithuania and a few other countries. Elementary human freedom is strangled and in the United States heresy hunts have become an essential industry.

Moreover, the big capitalist powers with colonies have reestablished slavery in various forms in many of their colonies. The reports of the French, British and Dutch delegates to the recent International Labor and Socialist Congress in Brussels present a wealth of facts, including laws, regulations and decisions of colonial officials, which show that capitalism has established forced labor in these regions. It is a process of intense sweating of weaker peoples, enslaving them for the enrichment of capitalists and bankers. The man who can as-

sert in the face of these facts that capitalism is "redeeming" the world is either an ignoramus or a hypocrite.

Mr. Spargo says that men who have lived through the Great War and its aftermath and who repeat "the old formulas in the old way" reveal "evidence of ossification." Very well. The statements of the capitalist powers before the Great War declared that preparedness was the best insurance of peace. They prepared. Not even Mr. Spargo will insist that this policy brought peace. The Great War was the result.

An Earlier Spargo

Except for the Central Powers the capitalist nations have more arms than they had before the Great War while our statesmen subscribe to the view of preparedness to insure peace. Here are the old formulas, Mr. Spargo. They failed once. They will fail again.

What are our Socialist formulas? Disarmament. They are old, we admit, but it is a case of old capitalist formulas vs. old Socialist formulas. The first has horribly failed and humanity has paid a fearful price for it. Is it not a case of "mental ossification" for you and others like you to gabble about YOUR formulas which have failed and to sneer at ours which have not been tested?

One thing is sure. Nations cannot fight if they have no arms. Whatever else might happen, there can be no vast human carnage with disarmament. Can there, in your own words, "be plainer evidence of mental ossification" than you exhibit today?

Ever hear of James K. Paulding, Mr. Spargo? No? We will make you acquainted with him. Paulding was a citizen of New York and in 1817 he published several volumes based upon personal investigations of slavery in the South. He painted some hideous portraits of human bondage, especially the slave gangs chained together and driven under a hot sun for sale in the lower South. Perhaps the following excerpt from his writings will interest you:

"The sun was shining out very hot, and in turning an angle of the road we encountered the following group: first, a little cart drawn by one horse, in which five or six half naked children were tumbled like pigs together. The cart had no covering, and they seemed to have been actually broiled to sleep. Behind the cart marched three black women, with head, neck and breasts uncovered, and without shoes or stockings; next came three men, bareheaded, half naked, and chained together with an ox chain! Last of all came a white man—a white man, Frank!—on horseback, carrying pistols in his belt, and who, as we passed him, had the impudence to look us in the face without blushing."

Do you recognize this man, Mr. Spargo? Perhaps the sequel will help you. In 1835 Paulding brought out another edition of his writings and this and similar passages were omitted. The next year he published another book, "Slavery in the United States," which was a complete defense of capital invested in chattels. He declared that slavery "is becoming gradually divested of all its harsh features, and is now only the bugbear of the imagination." Slavery was "redeeming" civilization.

Mr. Spargo, you may not have been able to recognize the man. You certainly can recognize the creature. What do you think of him? Slavery was "becoming gradually divested of all its harsh features." Reads like John Spargo's testimony to the "redeeming" character of the capitalist oligarchy that rules the United States.

Paulding had become "respectable." He spoke at patriotic celebrations. He had supreme contempt for Abolitionists. He was sure that their "old formulas" were "evidence of ossification." And he received his reward. In 1838 President Van Buren gave him the post of Secretary of the Navy in his Cabinet.

Mr. Spargo, your faith in the "redeeming" tendencies of capitalism is surely worthy of Paulding's reward. "Gene Debs, Ralph Waldo Emerson, John Brown, Henry D. Thoreau, Bruno and others will sleep well despite their knowledge of the Pauldings and Spargos. You will pass and be forgotten. The others will live forever in the affections of mankind."

Finally, Mr. Spargo, in the words of your predecessor, James K. Paulding, we wonder that you have "the impudence to look us in the face without blushing."

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Wisconsin's "Research Magnificent"

A THIN, bespectacled man with the brow of a scholar and the flashing eyes of an enthusiast, stood up before the members of Fred Howe's School of Opinion, at the Tavern-on-the-Moors at Sonnet, Mass., the other night and talked in informal manner about one of the most interesting educational experiments that is being carried on in this country today.

This was Alexander Meiklejohn, former President of Amherst College, now professor of Philosophy in Wisconsin University and director of the Experimental College at that institution.

Whatever you may think of the validity of his educational ideas, you must admit that Meiklejohn has had the rare courage to fight for them, until today he has seen them put to actual test on the campus at Madison.

For a year now some 120 Wisconsin freshmen have been living together in a hermit-like dormitory in an attempt at collective thinking about significant things.

It is Professor Meiklejohn's somewhat quaint and certainly refreshing conception of education in this country that it should teach our youngsters how to think and give them something to think about.

In the present state of university teaching, this idea is nothing short of revolutionary. Because he dared to express it, in season and out of season, at Amherst when he was President. Mr. Coolidge's Alma Mater would have none of him and finally threw him out on his ear with as little grace as they would discharge a rebellious janitor.

He was fortunate in finding a freer atmosphere at Wisconsin than in arid New England and after teaching there a year he went before the regents with this proposal.

"The first two years of college are pretty much of a waste of time," said the amazing man in effect to the regents. "It has been said of a Freshman that he comes to college expecting anything can happen and of a Sophomore that he has discovered that nothing will happen."

"Now suppose we set up an experiment in teaching young Americans to think and think about the right things during those first two years. Suppose we make an abrupt departure from the accepted lectures, note-taking and examinations and let the young men loose to find out things for themselves. Suppose, for example, we encourage them to study two important civilizations as a whole, rather than taking piecemeal courses in physics and metaphysics, economics and chemistry. If they can come to understand, let us say, the Greek Civilization of the Fifth Century at the time of Athenian supremacy, one of the periods in the world's history when the human spirit reached its loftiest heights, and then understand and compare civilization in America in the Nineteenth Century, they may not turn out to be expert bankers or plumbers, but they may very well develop into literally educated men, able to make scientific evaluations, free of intolerance and prejudice."

"And besides," said Meiklejohn, "there are plenty of vocational schools for turning out men with the minds of bankers and plumbers. There ought to be a few places for the prevention of making everybody into plumbers or bankers. What do you regents say?"

And the miracle of the whole thing was that the regents after much soul-searching said, "Go ahead."

I doubt very much if this happy result could have been brought about in any other place than Wisconsin.

It is quite a daring thing to give over into the hands of eleven teachers, who were by no means certain of their direction, the care of 120 young men around the ages of seventeen and eighteen and to assure the projectors of this magnificent research that the formal business of credits and degrees would be taken care of just the same. There of course is one of the most moving summaries of all that the Athenians were shooting at. It was the expression of a marvellously clear orientation of an entire city state. And they had read the digests and digests of speech, many, but of course not all, of the digests had a pretty clear idea of the mental machinery that moved the Greeks.

This is not to say that the 120 were selected from the student body of two or three thousand either because they were particularly bright or particularly dull or particularly well prepared or ill prepared. Meiklejohn and his ten colleagues, many of whom had been associated with him at Amherst were looking for a representative cross-section of the American college student. And they think they found it.

They segregated the group in a men's dormitory and then without much warning plunged them headlong into an intensive study of Greek civilization. They told these students, but few of whom had any knowledge of the Greek language and many of whom did not know whether a Pericles was a sea-urchin or a lost tribe, to go ahead and read the orations of Pericles over Athens' killed in battle. There of course is one of the most moving summaries of all that the Athenians were shooting at. It was the expression of a marvellously clear orientation of an entire city state. And they had read the digests and digests of speech, many, but of course not all, of the digests had a pretty clear idea of the mental machinery that moved the Greeks.

From there on, in groups of twelve under the advice but not the dictatorship of one of the faculty, they tackled the economics and philosophy and politics of Athens. Every now and then all of them would come together to talk over the things they were digging up from the country under the faculty of the regular university, or to put on the "Clouds" of Aristophanes or to play "The Electra," or to go into the workshop to dye stuffs or to weave things or to make sketches. In other words they were living Greek civilization as nearly as it is possible to live it in Wisconsin in 1928.

I have said that it is extremely doubtful if this sort of experiment could have been made in any other place than Wisconsin and I think the history of the University will bear me out.

When Progressives and Socialists first came into political power in that State and the "Wisconsin Idea" took form, the University received unusual attention from liberal-minded men and women the country over. The University which has for its regents such women as Mrs. Victor Berger and Zona Gale and such faculty members as John Commons and Hoxie and Perlman and Saposs and the others who wrote labor history and made educational history, could not fail to respond to such a challenge as Meiklejohn posed.

There are many intellectuals who ask of politics "what's the use? Politics cannot touch man's spiritual nature or his intellectual development."

For such as these the Experimental College at Wisconsin is irrefutable proof of what radical politics can do for the liberation of the human spirit.

Of course it raises doubts galore. To be sure it runs counter in many respects to all the accepted standards of formalized education and in departing from them, much have been lost. But whatever your doubts or questionings, you cannot but cheer at the end for such a gallant achievement. And you cannot fail to render to the comparative political freedom of the State of Wisconsin just tribute for furnishing the atmosphere in which such an experiment can flourish.

McAlister Coleman.

"This Is Norman Thomas"

4—The World War a Turning Point

By W. E. Woodward

Author of "George Washington, The Man and The Image," "Bunk," "Lottery," and "Bread and Circuses."

WHEN, in 1914, the gray legions began to pour through Belgium, both the young rebels were brought smack up against the most difficult problem of their lives. They had read and digested well "The War of Steel and Gold" by Brailsford and all the rest of the anti-war literature on which they could lay their hands. How could one possibly reconcile the preaching of the Gospel of the Prince of Peace with the support of this thing? To be sure, the vast majority of parsons found an easy way out. This of course was a holy war, waged to end all wars, etc., etc. But there was no such easy solution for the troubled two, east of the slopes of Morningside. There was no holy war for them, and by God, they would say no word from their pulpits to condone mass murder. They joined that pitifully small group of ministers who stood steadfastly against the war, while the drums beat outside their church windows, and everywhere the voice of the recruiting officer was heard in the land.

Looking back after ten years, this may seem to many a perfectly obvious and by no means arduous course to pursue. As a matter of fact, while flags were being blessed in the churches of the city, and prayers offered up from the pulpits to the God of Battles to be with "our boys," it was by no means the easy thing to do. It meant social ostracism to begin with, (something which both Thomas and McCurdy regarded with extreme indifference) but it meant as well a thousand and one sneaking attempts to curtail their social work, to hold them out to their communities as slackers, in short, to make pariahs of them and all others who saw the war eye to eye with them. A man who had donated money for children's dolls cut short his gift because of

Thomas' "dirty pacifism." Contributions for milk for babies suddenly stopped. Salaries for nurses were cut off. Always there were rumblings against Thomas and McCurdy, and John Haynes Holmes, and Percy Stickney Grant, and the few other ministers who refused to go crazy with the mob.

Three years of this petty sort of persecution, all the more vicious because it never came out in the open, and then at last the chance to go out and stand with New York's arch-enemy of war, the Socialist candidate for the mayoralty. This was Morris Hillquit, who had come to this country from Russia at the age of sixteen to work himself up, by sheer brilliancy of intellect and courage of heart, to a commanding position in the Socialist movement. He had been the legal representative of the workers in many a hard-fought battle, and now he was to lead them in one of the most significant campaigns which the city has ever seen. There was Thomas' man. Here was the long-awaited call to action. And with no hesitation whatsoever, but with a heart that beat quicker because of the fight that its owner knew was coming, Thomas sat down and wrote to Hillquit, offering his services in whatsoever capacity the Socialists might designate.

They put him to work at once. He and McCurdy, and J. A. H. Hopkins, and Dudley Field Malone, none of them card-carrying Socialists, but all convinced that Hillquit alone was a true spokesman for the inarticulate mass, went out night after night to face crowds, many of them hostile, and talk about bread and peace and freedom at a time when the war fever was at its frenzied height. So courageously did they and other Hillquit supporters drive home their points, so

clearly did they make it plain to the workers that this was indeed no war of theirs, that the old-line politicians in both parties were panic-stricken for a while.

Thomas Embraces the Cause of Peace

Rumors of the huge vote that Hillquit seemed likely to win ran among all the city rooms and political headquarters of the town. Hurry calls for contributions and workers were sent out. Large and costly advertisements appeared in the papers prophesying the coming of a revolution, if the Socialists should win. At the campaign headquarters of John Purroy Mitchell, the Union League crowd and other "respectables" who hoped to react him on a so-called fusion ticket, ran round in circles, shoveling out money to canvassers and speakers in sums that opened wide the eyes of veteran campaigners. Tammany Hall, while not so spectacular in its outlay, sent word from Fourteenth Street to certain quiet-spoken young men who were not unacquainted with the use of blackjacks and revolvers that their services would be urgently needed to "watch" the Socialist vote on Election Day. From the Bronx to furthest Queens, Hillquit was talking to packed halls night after night, in English, Yiddish, German and Russian, and wherever his campaign car appeared, it became the focus-point of a rush of enthusiastic workers, eager to assure their candidate of their support.

The quiet young men, with their orders from the Hall, did their work most effectively, and an obscure Brooklyn judge, John F. Hyland, who had soft-pedaled the war talk, was elected Mayor. There are in New York today many shrewd political observers who maintain that Hillquit ran a good second and defeated Mitchell by thousands of votes. The official count, however, gave Mitchell second place by the narrowest of squeaks. The story runs that Mitchell, who had vigorously supported the war, although he was supposed to be "liberal" in his philosophy, was so enraged by the result of the election that he stormed like a madman as the returns came in, cursing his paid supporters and his most intimate friends. A short time afterwards he was killed by falling from an airplane while practicing for overseas service.

Veterans in the Socialist Party look back on that campaign in which Thomas won his spurs as the high-water mark of the rise of Socialism in New York City. While they did not elect their Mayor, the Socialists sent their assemblymen to Albany, and had representatives in the Aldermanic Chamber of New York City.

Thomas had remained within the official fold of the Presbyterian Church while he was supporting Hillquit. But now the time had come when it seemed no longer possible to stay with any organization which supported the war. In 1918, he definitely stepped out of church circles, and embarked on the perilous seas sailed by those few who dared actively to stand up against the warlords. He went on the executive committee of what was one of the most hated and generally reviled organizations in opposition to the war, the American Union Against Militarism. He went to Washington to appear for this organization, before the Fellowship of Reconciliation decided that peace-lovers should have some medium for their message. Thomas was made editor of that militantly pacifist magazine, "The World Tomorrow." This job was an anchor to windward, and one

very acceptable to an outlaw parson with a large family.

"Worse Than Debs"—A Compliment From Burleson

From the outset, "The World Tomorrow" and its editor received the most assiduous attentions of the Department of Justice, and the other professional and amateur snoopers who were as thick as horseflies at a hitching-post in those days. Thomas gave great space in his paper to the reports of the swift developments of the Russian revolution, and he is proud of the fact that in his magazine there appeared for the first time in this country original documents, stating definitely the aims and purposes of the leaders of the Revolution. He was honored by the bitter comment of that badly-ragging postmaster, Albert Burleson, that "Thomas is more insidious than Debs."

Finding that everywhere the constitutional rights of citizens were being stamped into the mud of militarism, Thomas—together with Roger Baldwin and Hollingsworth Wood—started the Civil Liberties Bureau as a branch of the American Union Against Militarism. He was Vice-Chairman of that body, and most active in those feverish days when any expression whatsoever of dissent from the prevailing war mood rendered one liable to deportation or jail. One day the headquarters of the Bureau were raided, its records destroyed, and Baldwin, who was on hand at the time, was lugged off for a long third-degree. A short time later, Baldwin made his famous speech of defiance, at the time he was called up for the draft. Flatly he refused to register, or to have anything whatsoever to do with the whole war business, and forthwith he was thrown into jail, leaving Thomas and Wood to carry on the work of the Civil Liberties Bureau.

For his part, Thomas refused to take the exemption which was (for some unexplained reason) granted to all ministers, and told the authorities very frankly that he had conscientious objections to war. He saw his brother Evan being dragged off to jail as one of the leading conscientious objectors, and from Evan and Evan's friends he obtained much of the material about the brutal treatment of the C. O.'s which he was later to put into a memorable book, "The Conscientious Objector in America."

Now he was a full-fledged, card-carrying member of the Socialist Party. As Jim Maurer, his running mate this year, says, "What I like about Norman is that when the time came he did not run away like most of the intellectuals, but came out and stood shoulder to shoulder with those of us who were in the heat of the fight." He came to the party at a time when its very existence seemed threatened by fierce internal row. The amazing Russian turnover had fired the imaginations of such young romantics as John Reed and his followers, who declared that nothing short of a violent overthrow in this country was worth bothering about, and who marched out of a Socialist convention to form a new "proletarian" party, modelled on Soviet lines. With the defection of these Hotspurs, and the betrayal of all their Socialist principles by such war-shouters as John Spargo, William English Walling, Frank Bohn, Phelps Stokes, and others, the party seemed for a while doomed to rapid extinction.

No sooner was the war ended than a brazen-fronted attack was made on the Socialists, sponsored by the notorious Archibald Stevenson, and his bizarre Lusk Committee. This young snoopster had, during the war, threatened Thomas and other officials of the Civil Liberties Bureau with jail sentences, "more in sorrow than in anger," as he kept assuring Thomas. Stevenson had conveniently exonerated himself from real service in the army by undertaking the self-appointed job of "general inquirer of radicalism." He persuaded a publicity agent New York State Senator named Lusk to set up a snooping-committee, for which Stevenson was to be the investigator.

(Next Week—At Albany: Tested in the Fires of Hysteria.)

THE CHATTER BOX

Heilige Nacht

THIS night you were, all virgin, in my arms, Trusting your spirit's case to my dear keeping. You rested like tall corn stalk in the calms Late summer fills with promise of the reaping. Your dreams—did they grow tremulous with dragons And I the hero daring unto death For rescue, and feat love, and spicy fagons Quaffed at the wedding-feast—or did your breath, Stilled as spring dawn rhythmed as the ocean, Sweeten your dreamless slumber till the night Grew restless with the new day's far commotion And one by one the startled stars took flight? Was it a dream I held the creature of? Were you my love's dear semblance—or my love?

JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY.

Heywood Brown, in this Tuesday's New York Telegram, makes a delightful decision by choosing to vote for Al Smith instead of Norman Thomas, just because it were better to lose out with one who is an opportunistic Progressive, than with one who has the puny backing of character, principle and fundamental truth. He praises the Socialist Platform. Says that most of its planks will some day be enacted into law. And all in all creates a case for the party of his august rejection, that makes one wonder how he will rationally explain his pretty choice. Finally one discovers, after wading through his labyrinthine reasoning, that Al promises gin, while Thomas offers only a few matters of unimportance, such as water power, old age pensions, abolition of the slums, poverty, social vice, etc., etc.

Now on that issue, I will force no quarrel with the eminent intellect. There is something akin to godliness in the aroma of hootch, for fine minds. Prohibition has forced many of our best thinkers into such a votive posture before the divinity of booze, as only the few surviving bartenders fully understand. And because I have great respect for devotion in any form, there will be no attempt here to wean Mr. Brown from the hip-can, and fling him out into the cold world of economics.

Many of my comrades have already remarked bitterly on Mr. Brown's desertion. "It will hurt us with the liberals . . . with the LaFollette vote . . . with the intellectuals . . ."

To question the strength of our party and the ultimate result of our endeavors, on such a picaresque degeneration in the public press, is a sign of fundamental weakness foolishly displayed. Again, I must repeat, that we are growing entirely too nice and parlorish. Again I call on our traditions to come forth and help dispel this silly notion that we must beg or borrow or entice votes our way; and that we must weep or shiver over any noted defection from our alignment. Tut . . . tut and poof on such fears, old dears. . . . I for one of the Socialist Party have been kicked out of better places than Brown's Column . . . This latest of ejections has only served to convince me that we ought to stop flirting with the liberalized intelligentsia.

For in final consideration, these intellectual giants who sit on pedestals and pose for statues of "The Thinker" are just fleshly fellows with petty habits, likes and dislikes of their own. . . . These habits transcend anything of universal interest. . . . Many of them like their drinks. . . . Prohibition has sharpened their styluses, angered their wits, and given wings to their judgment. They may have been Marxian scholars, and dues-paying Socialists in the dim saloon past. They are cat-gut swigging punsters and anarchic anomalies today. They have the gift of typed gab. They can write on any popular subject and make out any side with equal seaminess. They are just one step lower than the ad writer. The latter has at least published his dishonesty. I had always believed that Mr. Brown was a scintillant exception. In spite of his recent avowal for Gin and Smith, I still have faith in his essential honesty. But I am getting to doubt the state of his health. This worrying about the millennium of pre-war whiskey is indeed too much for even a newspaper man. I am just wondering if Mr. Brown has made this momentous decision in momentary rebellion against his bootlegger. Perhaps a change of moon-shiners might bring the lad back into the fold. I might volunteer but my own procurer has the most awful stuff. I almost turned Communist after a swig from his last delivery. Recommendations from our readers are in order.

On a River Boat.

Your prow churns the muddy jade of the river into milk that blotches in aimless spots beneath the surface. Does the mad ecstasy of the waters make you writhe your way up to lie in senseless bubbles on the surface?

THE OFFICE BOY

And now that vacationing is over, dear contribs, get back to work and help make my own job here lighter. Gremm Zorn, Sol Portnow, Lucia Trent, the Office Boy and Bud Shipley have pitched in right early. Thanks, thanks to ye, my worthy friends for the aid so aptly given . . . Campaign time is on me, and I shall have much to shout forth against the street cars and Subway thunder, and so little energy left for scribbling. . . . Which also announces that Congress is calling me from somewhere in the Bronx . . . As modest as ever.

S. A. de Witt.

The Mob

The "Mob's" not educated And can't be made to see That things were all created For Wealth to hold in fee. It talks of antiquated Old stuff like "liberty," And thinks it ought to have a word In running matters—how absurd!

The "Mob" should pay its taxes And never mind the rest, While we—wring our axes And know the land is blest; Our wealth it ever waxes, And "all is for the best"; The "Mob" should pay its food and rent And go to work and be content.

The "Mob" cannot be trusted; If it should have its way, Our schemes would all be busted, And spoiled the game we play. We'd have to quit—disgusted—And go to work some day. While now we get our little share of The plunder—and are "taken care of."

—Bertram Braley.

Market Booming Leader

"SOME one sent me a copy of your paper and I am enclosing check for a subscription." The correspondent who is an old man, writes, "This has been the hardest Summer we have ever seen in Mississippi. If the masses do not wake up soon, they will be in slavery."

F. Fold of Chicago says that he couldn't get along without the N. L. With his renewal comes a \$1 bill for the campaign fund.

"Have been a Republican 53 years of my life. I have at last gone into the Socialist Party heart and soul," so writes F. Phillp Haffner of Omaha, as he sends in a sub.

"Received first copy of the paper and enjoyed it very much," writes Perry De Marco, Jacksonville, Fla.

Henry Hinricks is just visiting in Grand Island, but lost no time in scouting for subs.

We note that when a new local organization of Socialists is organized, subs follow. Another one from Wilmington, Del., sent in by Morris Good-levage.

Two subs from Luther N. Smith, Hancock, N. H. "I will try for more," he says.

No Brass Check Wanted "I must have The New Leader regularly. I can't read the blah-blah in the baigno press for fear that I too will become an ass."—John M. Gance, Warren, R. I.

THE NEW LEADER-APPEAL FLOODS THE DARK POLITICAL PLACES WITH LIGHT. ONLY TWO MONTHS REMAIN UNTIL ELECTION DAY. A SUBSCRIBER TODAY MEANS A SOCIALIST VOTER IN NOVEMBER.

"The N. L. is so good, I dislike to miss an issue," says W. B. McNinch, Cincinnati, N. Y.

Eager? Yes A. H. Eager, Red Bluff, Cal., sends in a sub with a list of good prospects for the paper.

TODAY IS THE DAY TO SEND IN THOSE SUBS.

S. Lerner, Secretary of the Socialist Party, Omaha, Neb., sends for a bundle of 100 and is preparing to start an intensive campaign for subs.

State Organizer Sutton of New Jersey will see to it that those who attend the State picnic are provided with New Leaders.

Three dollars for sub cards and a renewal, \$2, from Jos. D. Schlamm, Brooklyn.

Ruby Herman of Seattle, Wash., orders 100 for the State Convention. She also desires to thank the comrades for the expressions of sympathy sent to Emil Herman during his recent illness. Emil is not yet out of the woods, so far as

his health is concerned, but he continues to battle for the movement.

Eugene Debs Morton, Blairville, Pa., renews and sends in 2 more.

A subscription for every member of the newly formed local in Jacksonville, Fla., is the aim of Harry Feldman. Nothing is being left undone to make the Norman Thomas meeting a big success.

David G. George, Campaign Manager, Richmond, Va., keeps firing in orders for bundles of the New Leader.

Yes, we almost forgot. C. H. Owen, Crown Point, Ind., scores as usual. This time 6 subs.

WITH THE COMING OF AUTUMN BREEZES SHOWERS OF SUBS ARE EXPECTED. WHAT ARE YOU SUB-HUSTLERS AND NEAR-SUB-HUSTLERS GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

"I am with you until Gabe plays his hosannas," says C. W. Vliet of Glenwood Springs, Colo. He says that from the time of his birth, a little matter of 80 years ago, he was raised a Republican, but that he is for Socialism until gehenna is converted into a skating rink.

After a trip in a tin lizzie of 2,500 miles, Charles Brannon has reached Newallona, La. "I want to get back on the firing line while Norman Thomas is shelling the cohorts of capitalism. I must have The New Leader soon.

Organization Education Solidarity

FREE YOUTH

JACK WASSERMAN

EDITOR

Published Every Week By The New Leader for the Young Peoples Socialist League

Friendship

By Melville Cohen

"The desire for companionship is strong in every human heart." Man has a soul which must be satisfied by the spiritual comfort of a friend's love. In pain, in sorrow, in degradation, in joy and fame he yearns for some sympathetic heart, someone to whom he can reveal his innermost thoughts and desires. If he is enraptured by the sublimity and beauty of natural scenery; if he is enchanted by the magic of summer skies and glorious sunsets; if moved to tears or laughter by some enthralling book, his joy is never so great as when he can express his sentiments to another. "It takes one to bear grief but to be glad. We reach the divine through someone, and by dividing our joy with this one, we double it, and come in touch with the Universal." The turbulence of the sky is never so in spring; birds never sing so blithely; our acquaintances are never so gracious as when we are friends with someone. I care not what riches a man possesses; how bright are his prospects; how consummate his talents; how resplendent the fame he has reaped; his life is a comparatively barren and commonplace existence if not illumined by a gleam of love or friendship.

Idealists have said that friendship can exist only between men of noble character; that every defective quality in a friend gradually severs the links that bind them, dissolving that which once gave such ineffable joy. In this essay we shall not be so dogmatic, but shall admit that the more delicate sort of friendship is likely to exist between men of spiritual rather than that of material stamp.

We should find no difficulty in confounding this state of friendship with

love, that is conjugal love, if we but remember that the latter derives most of its bliss from presence. There is another respect in which the two differ. Opposite temperaments often attract each other in love; but like seems to be attracted by like in friendship. Friendship is that state of mind in which the two are attracted not only by the bonds of congeniality, but by finding in the affinity that indescribable something which makes a mutual appeal to two personalities. "Friendship," said Emerson, "like the immortality of the soul is too good to be believed." The lover beholding his maiden half loves that she is not yet that which he worships; and in the golden hours of Friendship we often are surprised with shades of suspicion and unbelief. "We doubt that we bestow upon our hero the virtues in which he shines, and afterwards worship the form to which we have ascribed this divine habitation." But in this state of friendship which is akin to worship, de-lusion, as long as it lasts contributes to happiness. We know that some day we shall awaken as if from some dream to learn that the perfection of some friend existed only in the imagination; but until then we would remain in delusion. And while we clothe our ideal with virtues that he does not possess, we consciously try to fulfill the ideas worthy of the transcendent qualities that we have created.

Editors note: Melville Cohen is a New York Junior.

Invading New Bedford

On Sunday, Sept. 2, the New York Yipsel delegation invaded New Bedford. The delegation was composed of Samuel Emery, Samuel Bookbinder, Louis Ryman, Aaron Panken, Ida Yavner, Ben Goodman, Winston Dancis, Esther Milgram and friend, Michael Aaron, Ab-

raham Kaufman, Abraham Wisotsky, Jean Watkins and Ida Watkins. They took back as guests with them three strikers, William Robinson, who has been here before as a guest of the N. Y. Yipsel League, his sister, Florence Robinson, Sadie Nell and her sister who is not a striker, Emil Nell. They were given a send-off by over 500 strikers at the Labor Temple.

Aaron Panken of Circle 2 Jrs. stayed a few days over as a guest of "Red Mike." He made himself very useful by entertaining the young strikers with his harmonica. That they raised the merry devil as befits good Yipsels could be seen by the rousing reception accorded Norman Thomas when he arrived in town at 11 p.m. Pictures were taken of the delegation by the newspaper men which was given publicity. In all, it was sure a big time in the old town. Despite the weather killing the Labor Day celebration, and it can be said that the deal of the enthusiasm was due to a send-off by over 500 strikers at the Labor Temple. The bad weather prevented the Boston Yipsels from coming down as they intended. After the bad weather and the photographing of the delegation came training in graph Julie Umansky came training in. He, too, had hitch-hiked in true Yipsel fashion from New York. He remained for the evening meeting which was held at the Yipsel League. He was the guest of Frank Manning, and left the following day with Panken for New York via the Yipsel Limited.

Lester Shulman.

Paterson Tag Day

A full dozen Yipsels went out to Paterson, N. J. to assist in a Tag Day for the New Bedford strikers. The drive netted \$600. These Yipsels, as well as many others had participated in the Passaic Tag Day and in the New York Tag Day conducted by the Y. P. S. L.

Y. Unions To Support Thomas

Conference Organizes Committee of One Thousand and Arranges Voluntary Assessment of Members.

The establishment of a New York Trade Union Committee of One Thousand to advance the candidacy of Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer for President and Vice President of the United States respectively on the Socialist ticket was the great task accomplished by the Trade Union Conference which filled Webster Hall on the evening of Sept. 5.

To bring this work to a successful conclusion it was agreed that a sum of \$25,000 be raised by the Trade Union Committee of One Thousand in the form of voluntary assessments of fifty cents each. So that no time be wasted in getting under way, it was enthusiastically resolved that the shop chairmen and officers who had registered as delegates constitute the first appointees to the Committee of One Thousand.

The trade union organizations of the nation were called upon to proceed along similar lines as the New York groups.

The chairman of the meeting was A. I. Shipplacoff, manager of the International Pocketbook Workers Union.

Norman Thomas, presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, addressed the conference on the eve of his departure for the west. He pointed out the necessity of a strong trade union movement as a basis for the Socialist movement in the United States. Referring to his personal experiences on his recent trip to the South and Middle West, he exploded the myth of Republican prosperity, spoke of the fear that has gripped the working class so that actions of protest on its part are not taken, and exposed the hypocrisy of Al Smith as a friend of Labor.

Morris Hillquit, fresh from his trip to the Brussels International Socialist Congress, impressed upon the delegates the identity in Europe of the trade union and Socialist movements. It is inconceivable there to think of the two organizations as separate. For that reason the European worker has power, he self-respect. He urged American unionists to follow suit.

Louis Pierard, a member of the Belgian Labor Party, and a deputy in the Belgian Chamber, who had come to this country to address the Institute of Politics at Williamstown on Belgian labor and Socialism, brought the greeting of the Belgian workers to the conference.

Other speakers were Samuel Beardsley of the International Jewelry Workers Union, Benjamin Schlesinger of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Edward Cassidy of Typographical Union No. 6, who told of his work in the National Campaign office, Morris Feinstein of the United Hebrew Trades, G. August Gerber, the young but efficient chairman of the Socialist National Campaign Committee, and finally Jacob Panken who thrilled his hearers with tales of his experiences in Europe, where he, too, attended the Brussels International Socialist Congress.

The meeting adjourned with the delegates determined to carry out the important work that has been entrusted to them.

GOVERNOR FAILS TO END LOCKOUT

KENOSHA, Wis. (P.P.)—Coupled with hints that the industry may pull out of Kenosha, the Allen A. Co. has refused to arbitrate the Governor Zimmerman of Wisconsin to arbitrate with its 300 locked out hosiery workers.

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ANTI-UNION ADS NOT WANTED

The New Leader's policy is never to accept advertisements from individuals, business concerns or organizations unfair to the labor movement.

The New Leader therefore sincerely regrets that through a mistake an advertisement of the so-called "Bakers Union, No. 3, of Brooklyn, Amalgamated Food Workers," appeared in our Labor Day edition. The so-called "Bakers Union, No. 3," is controlled by a group without standing or responsibility in the labor movement.

The New Leader takes this opportunity to express its regrets for the oversight which, in the pressure of affairs at The New Leader office, permitted the advertisement referred to appear in The New Leader.

Brighton Beach Branch Enthused by Progress

The Editor:

We of the new Socialist Branch of Brighton Beach have good reasons to be delighted and inspired over our new Branch, seeing the splendid response to our last two open-air meetings which we held the last two Fridays, August 24th and 31st, on Lakeland Place and the Boardwalk. A nice crowd of a few hundred men, women and young folks attended both meetings and gave their ears and minds to our speakers, Comrade Feigenbaum, Claessens, Karlin, Phillips, Tuvim and Hochman, who ably, cleverly and impressively pictured before their listeners a happy and prosperous world under Socialism in contrast to the present unhappy and unjust world of capitalism, imperialism and patriotism. The speakers enlightened the audiences about the present campaign and the candidate and urged them to bring into power their real and true representatives, the candidates of the Socialist Party! The desire on both sides, the audience and ourselves, is anxiously intense to have our meetings continued every coming Friday, which we will do.

New York City

JOSEPH BASS

General Membership Meeting of Socialists of New York City

On Monday evening, September 17th, a general party meeting will be held in the Debs Auditorium, Peoples House, 7 East 15th Street. Our delegates to the International Conference, recently held in Brussels, Belgium, Comrades Morris Hillquit, James O'Neal, Julius Gerber, Jacob Panken and Albert Halpern, will be present to report on the deliberations and actions of the International Conference. This meeting is open to Socialist Party members only and every active and interested member of the Party should attend as matters of utmost importance concerning our National campaign and International movement will be discussed.

Liberal Club Kicked Out of Harvard

BOSTON.—Harvard's Liberal Club is padlocked at last. Presence of a young woman, unchaperoned in the club's library, conversing with four students, was the excuse.

President Lowell, one of the committee of three who sent Sacco and Vanzetti to the electric chair one year ago, has been seeking to oust the Liberal Club ever since it championed the two workers energetically in the weeks preceding their death. Club members openly attacked the president, a descendant of the Lawrences and the Lowells, as a 'hangman'.

The club also sponsored the objectionable debates featuring Bertrand Russell, British philosopher, Margaret Sanger and a Negro debating team. They discussed labor subjects without gloves and even permitted socialists to speak at forums. When the drive was on for a war memorial at Harvard yard, club members distributed leaflets opposing the reminder of militarism.

All in all, Harvard authorities are glad they found the young woman in the library. With money needed to run the biggest school of business in America, the padlock has solved one of Harvard's most pressing problems.

ANOTHER ARROGANT EXCLUSION

WASHINGTON (P.P.)—At the demand of A. J. Muste, chairman of the faculty of Brookwood, exclusion of Mark Starr, organizer for the National Council of Labor Colleges of Great Britain, from the right to visit this country and lecture at Brookwood College, may be balked by the State Department. A cable inquiry as to reasons for refusal by American consuls in England to give Starr a visa has been sent.

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Negro Painters to Hold Mass Meeting Wednesday

On Wednesday, September 12th, 8:30 p.m. a general mass meeting will be held at 149 West 138th street for the Negro painters. The Community Progressive Painters' Union here organized March 27th, 1927, with office at 20 West 137th street, has called the meeting. This meeting is called to reorganize, and re-open activities among the Negro painters who are demanding full recognition. They are also agitating for wages from \$9.00 to \$10.50 daily.

Those that will address the meeting are the following speakers: Rev. Ethelred Brown, president of the union; Frank R. Crosswath, assistant organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and advisor of the Painters Union; Victor C. Gaspar, organizer of the union; Miss A. Elizabeth Hendrickson, treasurer; G. French, and E. Leelet.

A committee of Socialist comrades, August Gerber as chairman, pledge full support to the union, and are helping along the future prospects of the organization. This committee has been empowered full supervision of the union. All those interested in the movement of the Negro painters and delegates of the Union Brotherhoods are cordially invited to this meeting.

Typos Get Ready For Charleston Convention

INDIANAPOLIS. (P.P.)—Peak membership since the International Typographical Union was organized in 1852 will be reported to the 73rd convention which opens at Charleston, S. C., Sept. 10. Dues paying members in good standing number 75,738. This compares with 62,661 in 1918 and 43,740 in 1908. It is a gain of 909 members over 1927. With the increase in membership goes a net shrinkage of 15 locals. The union now has 792 locals, including 15 locals of the German-American division, 47 of mailers and 2 of newspaper writers. Mergers and extinctions of newspapers have displaced a number of printers.

Mining Communities Become She-Towns

HILLSBORO, Ill. (P.P.)—One result of the long depression in the Illinois coal fields is a merciless exploitation of the coal diggers' women. The mining centers are taking on the aspects of "she-towns" where the man does the housework and the woman brings home the pay check. In the vicinity around Hillsboro there are a thousand miner families, once prosperous when the men were employed in the three neighborhood coal mines. Two of these mines have been closed for three years and the other operates only part-time. Relief from the United Mine Workers has furnished food for many of the needy families for the past year.

Musicians Win Wage Increase, Win Strike

CHICAGO.—Wage raises ranking from \$5 a week in burlesque houses to \$12.92 and \$13.91 in legitimate theatres will be paid to 300 members of the Chicago Federation of Musicians for the next two years under the newly signed contract. Regular musicians in the legitimate houses will get \$90 a week for eight performances instead of \$77.08. Extra musicians will get \$99 a week instead of \$85.09. They get more because they have less steady work. Burlesque houses will pay \$87.44 a week instead of \$82.44. Movie house contracts run for another year.

Hosiery Workers Force Allen A. Co. to Confer

KENOSHA, Wis.—After six months of refusal to arbitrate the Allen A. Co., which locked out 300 union hosiery workers in Kenosha last February, has been driven to agree to a conference with the union and Gov. Zimmerman of Wisconsin. The union has made no wage demands in the long controversy, simply asking that it be recognized and that the 1-machine system be retained instead of instituting the 2-machine speedup.

Spanish Unions Meet Despite Dictatorship

MADRID.—Spain's "free" trade union federation will hold its first convention in six years on September 10. This session was to have taken place in 1924, but because of the dictatorship established in 1923 by Primo de Rivera, the leaders have felt it unsafe to come together in formal session. Total membership of the affiliated bodies is 208,000.

Civil Liberties Fights Fascist Intimidation

Efforts of Italian consuls in the United States to browbeat American citizens of Italian birth into ceasing their fight against Fascism are denounced by the American Civil Liberties Union as illegal. The Union asks for evidence of the practice, in an appeal to anti-Fascist Italian newspapers published in America. Four cases have been reported to the Union of Italian consular intimidation of Italian-Americans. A protest is being made to Secretary of State Kellogg.

Dual Unions Staged in Two Industries

Communists Arrange to "Organize" Unions in New York and Miners in Pittsburgh

What is called the "National Textile Mills Committee" has called a convention to meet in New York City Sept. 22 to form a new union in the textile industry. This mysterious group is said to have organized "textile conferences" in Philadelphia, Boston and other cities in preparation for the New York convention but labor men know just what all this means.

At the head of the committee is Albert Weisbord, active Communist who never in all his life worked in the textile industry. The "textile conferences" consist of supporters of the Communist party of a variety of trades and no trades. In short, the whole affair is inspired and arranged by Communists with a small following of Communist peddlers, insurance agents, and a motley collection such as those that staged mass meetings of "needle trades workers" in New York City a few years ago.

Informed men point out that this proposed "convention" has for its object a rival union to be led by disguised Communists and to fight the established union in the textile industry. They declare that the sum total of all Communist efforts for nearly ten years is the very reverse of what they claimed they have been after—organization of dual unions.

A similar maneuver under Communist generals is being made in the mining industry by calling a convention of miners to meet in Pittsburgh on Sept. 9. The same methods have been followed in organizing the Pittsburgh "convention." The plans included "district conferences" of "miners" out of which has come a proposal for a "National Miners Union" and publicity to the effect that between 75,000 and 100,000 "miners" will be represented at Pittsburgh. Active Communists have the affair in charge while peddlers, insurance agents and others of this type will gather as "miners" in the convention. Here also dual unionism is the aim with further demoralization among the miners if the fake is really launched.

Observers agree that the miners have grievances and that more progressive policies are required to bring the organization out of the mess in which it is plunged today, but that the Communists can add anything but disruption and suicidal quarrels is evident from what they did to the needle trade unions in New York a few years ago.

Whether the miners and textile workers will permit this ill-disguised adventure in their unions to run wild remains to be seen, but it is doubtful whether it can make much headway as the intrigues of the destructive element are fairly well known now.

Mass Meeting, Local 1, Jewelry Workers' Union

A mass meeting for all jewelers, setters, engravers, polishers, tool makers, press hands and all other workers employed in the jewelry trade, has been called by Local No. 1, International Jewelry Workers' Union, for Tuesday, Sept. 11, at 6 p. m. in Bryant Hall, 725 Sixth Avenue, (between 41st and 42nd streets) New York City. Prominent speakers will address this meeting. Every worker in the trade is invited to attend. The amnesty that has been in effect during the past few months will end with this meeting. After the 11th, there will be an increase in the initiation fee for all old and new members. Those desiring to take advantage of the present low fee are urged to do so at this time.

Conditions in all branches of the jewelry trade during the past eight months have been the worst experienced for a number of years. Hundreds of mechanics in the jewelry and setting branches of the trade have been unemployed for months. This has brought about a deplorable condition in wages, conditions and treatment of the workers in the shops. This mass meeting will be the beginning of a campaign for the organizing of all workers in the jewelry trade with the ultimate object of eliminating the rotten working conditions that now prevail in all shops throughout the city.

Easley Wants Federal Anti-Red Drive

WASHINGTON. (P.P.)—Ralph M. Easley, formerly secretary and now chairman of the Executive Council of what remains of the National Civic Federation, has circulated in the capital, for Labor Day reading, a suggestion that Congress begin a new persecution of labor radicals. He advances this Bismarckian scheme as a prelude to one of his appeals for harmony between anti-union employers and the conservative element in the American Federation of Labor. The American labor movement, he says, "is not only the one labor movement in the world which is not Red but that is militantly anti-Red."

Anthracite Head Fights Against Contract Evil

Seranton, Pa.—Holding that the individual contract "breeds discontent, favoritism, graft, chaos and in some instances has resulted in physical violence and murder," President John Boylan of Miners District 1 has appealed to the anthracite arbitration board to eliminate the system. The board has agreed to arbitrate the grievance.

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AMUSEMENTS

The Week On Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

SAY UNCLE TOM

Kenyon Nicholson and John Golden, in "Eva the Fifth," at the Little Theatre, provide an interesting picture of backwater theatrical life, in the days of an "Uncle Tom's Cabin" company, traveling far from dramatic civilization, but not too far from theatrical truth.

There is, in this mild but effective comedy, a coherent story, as well as the satisfying assembling of amusing remarks and situations along the line. We expect the owner of the company to fly the coop, but that does not make the predicament of the stranded players any the less acute. We know that Eva the Fourth will turn back from her rich furniture salesman "with sidelines" to her dear first Simon Legree, but that does not make the undertaker any less clever a caricature. And Los Shore as Eva the Fifth has a part and impertinent manner that makes the part all the more entertaining, from its first geography lesson through its stomach attack in little Eva's death scene to the final smart utterance of the precocious child, not wholly unspiced by her road company breeding, but—however a bother in life—quite pleasing across the footlights.

The company that is the Bondell Troupe makes a varied picture, with the kindly sentimentality of the actor, with the clannishness of the traveling unit, with the petty jealousies of any group. Clairborne Foster plays the present Eva with sufficient modesty to justify her longing for a home away from thoughts of the footlights. Buford Armitage makes himself effective as the substitute manager and hero. The rich possibilities of the setting and idea are scarcely more than reached toward; but enough has been done to give Broadway a pleasant comedy.

PAPER PLAYS

Of the season's presentations of the frantic efforts all newspaper men (in the drama) make to escape the profession, despite the attempts of almost everyone else to enter it, "Gentlemen of the Press," by Ward Morehouse, at Henry Miller's, may be rated according to its sequence. The play succeeds as entertainment, but fails as drama. It grows, in other words out of a succession of more or less clever remarks and pictures of elaborately realistic newspaper life, but it knits these into no coherent story, vital to the theme or to the setting.

The bit of a plot that is selected to carry the atmosphere might have been applied with equal effect anywhere: in itself we may not quarrel with, for what does the plot matter if the picture the author is trying to exhibit be true? But when the mechanics of the plot seem to demand falsification of the picture, then there is a sorry mess—enlivened in this instance by such witlisms as the request of the heavy reporter to the light dame: "Come up to my room and fight for your honor!"

A KNOCK-OUT

It is in the third act and the second round that the hero brings home the championship (featherweight) of the world, by a sudden sweep of honesty that leads him to tear up the hundred thousand dollar check he has taken to throw the fight, two to forget the effects of the spree he has gone on two days before, and three, to smash his opponent to a froth with his famous right.

There is, naturally, some excitement in this actual ring scene, with its preliminary radio announcement of the earlier bout; but it may be seriously questioned whether it is worth watching the earlier growth of the play, to get that minute, "Ringside," at the Broadhurst, by three authors including George Abbott, wins the simple prize-ring hero from his dear, home sweetheart; only to learn that hat-racks and heartless push stronger than rackets and hungry hearts, as virtue triumphs and the father of the hero (who is also his trainer) shoots the villain one minute before the final bout. That's what it's all about; but the manner of the telling makes one hope that the prize-fight dramas still to come this season will take an object lesson, go home, tighten their belts, put on the gloves, and give themselves some stiff training to get into shape before they show their mettle.

HARPING ON THE JEWISH STRAIN

Some plays unravel to the reviewer as a piece of machine-work should; the stamp of writer's and producer's intent is quite evident. "The Money-Printer," at the Ambassador, an effort of Roy Horniman, a distinguished name in the drama of London and other points English, is unmistakably one of this ilk. An effort is made to create a great problem bearing on the intermarriage of Jew and Gentile; greater pains are taken to pacify ardent believers in both sects; perhaps the greatest attempt is the aim to make this a box office attraction.

The author undoubtedly has been swayed by a Michael Arlen complex reacting against the urge of an Anne Nichols; he veers not to be one nor to the other, but is content to modify both extremes. Result: almost nothing. The

GEORGE KAISER WHOSE LATEST PLAY, "THE PHANTOM LOVER," WAS PRESENTED BY GUSTAV BLUM AT 111 E. 49TH STREET THEATRE, ON TUESDAY EVENING.



play is to be commended, however, for its most excellent direction. It is smoothly enacted, in the finest English tradition. Herbert Clark is sufficiently movie to thrill the matinee girls, who, rumor hath it, still exist—his good looks and restraint in no way diminish the appeal of his characterization. Katherine Standing offers sufficient evidence of her kinship to the great and only Sir Guy, her dad. Horace Pollock deserves a spot in "Loyalties." Galsworthy's much better work on the same theme.

IN BRIEF

"The Silent House" will be transferred from the Shubert to the Sam Harris Theatre on September 10th to make room for the premiere of "White Lilacs" at the Shubert.

No better indication is there of the present entente cordiale than the fact that both Monsieur Maxime Mongendre, Consul General de France, and Herr Dr. R. W. Drechsler, German Consul General, both attended the premiere of Gustav Kerner's production of "The Phantom Lover" at the Forty-ninth Street Theatre, Tuesday evening, September 4. SYL. authority on men's clothing, had occasion to interview the French Consul General as to certain details of the French Lieutenant's uniform worn in the play. He invited the French Consul to attend the premiere of "The Phantom Lover" but then recalled that though the play was set in France, it was written by a celebrated German dramatist, Georg Kaiser, and so, to maintain friendly international relations, he hastened immediately also to invite the German Consul.

When "Trapped," the Shipman-Marcin kidnapping melodrama, arrives at the National Theatre on September 10th, Janet McLeay will be playing the leading feminine role. Miss McLeay has already assumed her part in Chicago. She was last seen in New York in "Weather Clear, Track Fast."

"The New Moon" will play the Alvin Theatre, Pittsburgh, next week, instead of coming into the Imperial Theatre. It will open at the Imperial here on September 11th, instead of 10th.

The De Pack Ensemble, a special symphony unit organized by Maurice B. De Pack, which will appear with "White Lilacs," has been augmented to twenty-five musicians from the Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra.

As part of the Tolstol Centennial celebration, the Russian Students' League will present "The Kreutzer Sonata" at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse, beginning Saturday, September 8th. This is a Russian author's novel of the same name. Its showing at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse is the first in America. Count Ilya Tolstol, son of the author, is chairman of the committee arranging the Centennial celebration. He is expected to appear at the theatre during the showing of the film to speak about his illustrious father.

Hamilton MacFadden has acquired a new war comedy entitled "Hell on Wheels," by Maxwell Anderson, Jack Niles and Douglas Moore. The play is filled with favorite soldier songs of the war. Mr. MacFadden will make his first offering of the season. Rehearsals will start in about three weeks. Mr. Anderson was author or part author of "What Price Glory," "Outside Looking In," and "Saturday's Children." Mr. Niles published last year a collection of soldier songs, "Singing Soldiers." Mr. Moore is attached to the Music Department at Columbia, and arranged the musical effects for "The Road to Rome."

"The New Moon," the Romberg-Hammerstein-Mandel-Schwab musical show that opened in Cleveland last week, was hailed by as great a stir of critical enthusiasm as we have seen for many old moons—let alone new ones.

For the first time since the World War an authentic motion picture depicting the struggle behind the German lines is to be shown in America. The film, entitled "Germany's Side of the War," is to have its first American presentation at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse, beginning Saturday, September 15th.

Vanita Carol, the name by which Edith Joergensen, accredited the most beautiful girl in Denmark, will hereafter be known, entered the cast of the Earl Carroll Vanities last night (Tuesday). Miss Carol was a solo dancer at the Scala Theatre, Copenhagen, prior to coming to America last month, but will work in the ensemble of the Vanities for a time to acquire American technique.

Pat O'Brien, who played the lead in "Gertie," has been engaged for an important role in "Tin Pan Alley," by Hugh

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"DAWN"

First Brooklyn Showing at Popular Prices
Continuous 2 p.m.—11:30 p.m.
All Week Starting September 8

Stanislaus Stange, which is being produced by the Lang-Forbes Corporation.

Owing to the rapidity with which the beer has been disappearing back-stage at the Royale Theatre, Al Rigali, stage manager for the Mae West melodrama, "Diamond Lil," has issued an order restraining the drinking activities of both stagehands and actors who have made it a practice during the summer to quench their thirst at the bar used in the first and third acts. In future, during the performance, beer may be consumed only by actors in line of duty on stage. The new order was issued when the beer tank ran dry just before the start of the third act cabaret scene one recent hot night, and it was necessary to summon property men to do a hasty job of filling. Under the latest edict, all hands must restrain their thirst until after the final curtain has fallen, when, if there is still beer in the tank, they may help themselves. Query: Is it only near beer that they find?

Change of Cast in Grand St. Follies
Frances Sherry, specialty dancer well known in vaudeville, joined the cast of the Grand St. Follies on Monday, September 3, to take the place of Joanna Roos, who leaves to go with the road company of "Paris Bound." It is Miss Roos who does the impersonation of Billie Burke in the Follies.

The much discussed British film production, "Dawn," is this week's main attraction at the St. George Playhouse on Brooklyn Heights. This is the motion picture treatise on the life and death of the martyred war nurse, Edith Cavell.

Before "Dawn" was finally permitted an exhibition in the United States it had been the butt of censure and criticism on the part of numerous reform and pacifistic groups who saw in the film biography of Edith Cavell nothing but an instrument of international ill-feeling. Subsequently this attitude was dispelled when "Dawn" gained the undivided approval of the National Board of Review and other discriminating public organizations. In "Dawn," which is having its first Brooklyn presentation at the St. George, the various important incidents in the last days of Nurse Cavell are depicted vividly, dramatically and without bias. One is shown how the indefatigable Miss Cavell, impelled by motives of mercy as well as loyalty, aided wounded Allied prisoners to return to their lines. For this, as the picture portrays it, the Englishwoman was brought before a German court-martial, tried and convicted of espionage and finally executed. The role of the martyred Cavell is acted by Sybil Thorndike, the noted English player.

Mr. Hyman Adler is being considered as a great possibility for the "talkies" by two prominent motion picture concerns, namely Famous Players Corporation and Fox Films. Mr. Adler, besides being widely known as one of the foremost character actors on the American and Jewish stage, possesses a very fine singing voice. Years ago when the "talkies" were in their infancy, Mr. Adler appeared in quite a number. He is also the author of four plays, "Broken Branches," "Drift," "Tales of Rigo," and "The Last Play," which has great promise and in which Mr. Adler himself enacted the leading role, of "57 Bowers." His performance was proclaimed by critics as being one of the best in the theatrical season last year. At present he is the producer of "Skidding," one of the best comedy plays of home-life and politics on Broadway.

"Fazil" is continuing for a second week at the Roxy, in combination with the usual collection of side features.

With rehearsals for the third year of the Civic Repertory Theatre under way since last Monday, Eva La Gallienne has altered her plans to satisfy public demand so that she will be appearing in the cast at most of the performances the coming season and still concentrate her energies on directing. In making this announcement, she is yielding to the insistent wishes of her subscribers, hundreds of whom have taken her by surprise by writing to her, begging her to retain her acting interest in the theatre's productions.

A few years ago Jackie Cogan wandered upon the stage at a vaudeville theatre where his dad was performing. The audience laughed at the little fellow, and his dad as a joke introduced him. Now Jackie is getting over. Better being widely known than his dad ever was, Jackie is introducing his dad and will introduce him next Saturday at the Paramount Theatre, where they will appear throughout the week. The picture at the Paramount next week is First National's "Heart to Heart" with Mary Astor, Lloyd Hughes and Louise Fazenda.

N. J. Socialists To Have Picnic This Sunday

**Maurer and Vladeck Will
Be Among Speakers at
Progress Park, Linden**

The New Jersey Socialists' state picnic will be held at Progress Park, Linden, on Sunday, Sept. 9th.

The speakers will be James H. Maurer and B. Charney Vladeck. It is expected, if the weather is fine, that there will be a record attendance. Two of the branches of the Workers' Circles are arranging to attend en masse, hiring buses for the occasion. There will be games, dancing, and, of course, refreshments. In the afternoon there will be an important conference with special reference to plans for the complete reorganization of the state by keeping a full time organizer in the field not only during the campaign, but afterwards.

Last year a good number of the New York City Yipsels hitchhiked or otherwise made it their business to get to the picnic, and the New Jersey young people are looking forward to a considerable number of their New York fellow Yips paying them a visit again this year.

Enthusiasm of branch activity in New Jersey continues, with some that were dormant for a long time to life, with old-time zeal for street meetings, literature, distribution, etc. In Hudson County, the comrades are purchasing an old truck and will parade the streets with it, for brief street-corner meetings, and for general advertising of our candidates and party.

For any New Yorkers that care to spend a day in the country, the park is reached by Hudson Tube to Newark and Public Service bus or street car to Elizabeth, and then by bus from Court House to the Linden City Hall, the latter being either buses No. 34 or 36 (Yellow) or No. 89 (Brown). There will be special buses from the Newark Tube terminal, so visitors should look for them.

Importance of Literature at Our Meetings

By Jessie Stephen

SINCE I came to New York, I have addressed some scores of meetings, and one thing has impressed me strongly. The absence of literature at these meetings. This is a grave mistake. No matter how eloquent the speaker, however convincing his arguments by themselves these things do not make Socialists. Once the audience has dispersed, the message of the speaker is liable to be forgotten, or only hazily remembered, if something else is not offered which will clinch the argument and keep the facts fresh in his mind.

Why do not the local comrades see to it that a good supply of The New Leader and other literature is displayed for sale? It can be sold as I have discovered by experience, even in New York. I suppose that only one in ten meetings I have addressed have had The New Leader on sale. This is hardly fair to the comrades who are doing their best to produce an interesting and informing paper. Circulations are not built up that way, and the one hope for the spread of our ideas is to get our own newspaper into the hands of the people interested enough to stand at our meetings and listen to the message our speakers have to deliver.

In all the years I have been working for the Socialist movement in Britain, and they are many, I have always seen a good display of newspapers, pamphlets and books. That is the reason for the success of the British Labor Movement without any doubt. Literature is intellectual dynamite, blowing away the rubble and ruck of capitalist prejudices and ideas, in which the workers' brains are often buried.

I want to see more literature on sale and am personally prepared to boost it. What are my comrades prepared to do? Then the money! Why no collections, or where collections are taken, why are they taken up so half-heartedly as if we were doing something of which we ought to feel ashamed? Money is absolutely necessary to the success of our propaganda, and we have a right to ask supporters and sympathizers to contribute to that end. I would not address a meeting in Britain, nor would any other Socialist speaker, if the comrades did not do their share by going around with the hat. More money means more propaganda, and greater activity. It is of primary importance in a movement which is so dependent upon the pen of the workers. Let us be bold about it. We shall lose nobody's respect in the process, except that of the people who don't matter any way.

Help Is Needed at Socialist Party Office

Help is needed for addressing, inserting and stamping envelopes for the ten thousand letters mailing to reach the primary election of September 18th. All members of the Socialist Party and Y. P. S. L. who can possibly spare time are urged to come to the City Office, 7 East 15th Street, any time, day or evening, September 13th, 14th and 15th, to help on this job.

We Admit It

"Excellent paper you are getting out. More power to you! Keep up the good work! Art Young is a wow, (Arthur Geller.)"

SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

New York City

GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK

The well-known lecturer and writer, George R. Kirkpatrick, author of "War, What For," "Mental Dynamite" and "Think or Surrender," will be in New York City for speaking engagements from October 9 to 15, inclusive. All those branches that desire to obtain Comrade Kirkpatrick's services are instructed to get in touch with the city office at once as to date and terms.

JESSIE STEPHEN

Socialist Party and Workers Circle Branches and other organizations desiring the services of Jessie Stephen during the month of November for a lecture or series of lectures at their forums are instructed to make their requests as soon as possible and to notify the City Office without delay. Comrade Stephen expects to return to England immediately after election. If there are sufficient lecture engagements obtained during the month of November she may prolong her stay during that month.

MANHATTAN

3-5-10 A. D.

The next meeting of the branch will be held on Tuesday, September 13, at the People's House, 7 East 15th Street.

4th A. D.

Every active member of the branch is urged to be present at the next meeting on Wednesday evening, September 12, at the East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway.

The important question to be considered is that of obtaining headquarters within the district. The election of a campaign manager and campaign committee will also take place and preparations will be made for a lively campaign.

6-8-12 A. D.

The next regular meeting of this branch will be held on Monday evening, September 10, at the headquarters, 96 Avenue C.

22-23 A. D.

The first meeting of this Fall to be held by the Washington Heights branch will take place Tuesday evening, September 11, at 3785 Broadway. Plans will be made of how and what kind of work this branch intends to do during the coming campaign.

BRONX

3d A. D.

The next regular meeting of this branch will be held on Friday evening, September 7, at the home of Comrades Mr. and Mrs. Orr, 901 Beck Street, Apartment 32.

5th A. D.

The next meeting of this branch will be held Friday, September 7, at the County Headquarters, 1187 Boston Road.

BROOKLYN

18th A. D.

A meeting of the Campaign Committee was held on Wednesday evening, September 5, in Comrade Cohen's Office, 1705 Pitkin Avenue. A thorough discussion of the political situation in the 18th District was held and plans laid down for the most vigorous campaign the 18th Assembly District has witnessed in a decade.

Our candidates have promised to spare no effort in making this a historic campaign, and the members of the committee equally promised to do their bit.

The Executive Committee of the branch is now discussing plans for further strengthening the organization and increasing membership. Canvassing committees will soon be on the job interviewing the enrolled voters and urging them to join the party. More of this anon.

22d A. D.

Now that the summer is over, the 22d A. D. Branch of the Socialist Party announces the largest meetings in its history. The first meeting after Labor Day saw the return of many members.

The Women's League is rounding up the women voters. The Debs Soccer Club, which represents the Norman Thomas for President Club, is diligently practicing for their coming contest in the Henry American League. Ads are coming in steadily for the banquet in October.

Comrade Kantor, one of the oldest members, can remember a time when such lively interest and enthusiasm was evident. Thanks are due to Comrade Epstein for his tireless work in adding new members continuously to the branch.

On WEVD

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 9

2:45-3:00 WEVD-New York City 1220 KC

12:30 Weismantel's Entertainers

1:00 Mr. and Mrs. Chatterbox

2:00 Studio Program

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 10

1:00 Mary Linden, violin

1:20 Frances Weber, soprano

1:40 Howard Kester, Inter-racial Educational Cooperation

2:00 Lydia Mason, piano

2:20 Moses Plotkin: "A Boy Scout Sub-

2:40 Maude A. Tollefson, Original Poems

3:40 Myra Norton, piano

4:00 Harendranath Maitra

4:20 Nat Keron, violin

4:40 Elizabeth Bacon Walling, "Things a Wife Should Not Tell Her Husband"

5:00 Cecily Lawton, ballads

5:20 Lee Haughton, Musical Monologue

5:40 Young Socialist Period

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11

1:00 Helen Elak, piano

1:20 Elydia Shipman, "Curious Facts From the Sea"

1:40 Helen Valle, Mezzo

2:00 Marcy Warren, Stories from Dickens

2:20 Jean Atwater, piano

2:40 Mary Linden, violin

3:00 Youth and Peace Period

3:20 G. Yavner, "The Pacificists' View on National Defense"

3:40 Frank J. Manning, New Bedford Strike Reports

4:00 Lillian Dublin, soprano

4:20 Timely Topics, Norman Thomas

4:40 Mary Boyd Wagner, Old Time Ballads

5:00 Winnifred Harper Cooley, Theatre Notes

5:20 Irving Kreitzberg, violin

5:40 Joseph Tuvin, "Child Labor"

6:00 McAllister Coleman, Campaign News

9:15 Ada Twerdosky, piano

9:25 Sara Graham-Mulhall, "The Opium Vampire"

9:45 Ada Twerdosky, piano

9:55 Dr. S. Daniel House, "Problem Children and Problem Parents"

10:15 Betty Archib, The Inter-American Commission of Women

10:30 WEVD Entertainers

10:45 Rebel Poets

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12

1:00 Maude A. Tollefson, contralto

1:20 Samuel H. Friedman (to be announced)

1:40 Jean Altvater, piano

2:00 John Rose Gildes, poems

2:20 Adelaide Olson, mezzo

2:40 Popular Research narratives

3:00 Eleanor L. Levenson, readings

3:20 Lindsay-Oliver Presentations

3:40 Alice Ogden, violin

4:00 Current Events

4:30 Joe Zimmerman, popular piano

5:00 Hints from Setzanne

11:00 Eddie Farrell and Radio Rambles

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 13

1:00 Peace Hour

Annie E. Gray, Secretary, Women's Peace Society

2:00 Esther Jaffe, cello

2:20 Lydia Mason, piano

2:40 Vindication of Rights of Women, Mary Wollstonecraft

Brighton Beach-Sheepshead Bay Br.

Meetings of this branch are held every Tuesday evening at the home of Comrade Bass, 3045 Humbert Street. Outdoor meetings held at Boardwalk and Lakeland Place. The next speaker is Frank Crosswaith.

The members are arranging a get-together the latter part of September, and a ball in the winter months.

Membership of this branch is increasing at every meeting. A committee was elected to work with the 8th Congressional District Campaign Committee.

QUEENS

Jackson Heights

Regular meetings of this branch during the month of September will be held on the 12th and the 26th, at the home of Comrade Matthias Palm, 41-51 77th Street, Jackson Heights. Letters will be sent to enrolled voters inviting them to attend these meetings. It was decided by this branch to call a general meeting of the membership of all branches in Queens County to make plans for the campaign in this section of the city.

Street Meetings

MANHATTAN

Friday, Sept. 7, 8:30 p. m.—Grand and Pitt Streets. Speakers: S. P. Ulanoff, J. Reicher, Louis Lieberman, Harry Ulanoff.

Tuesday, Sept. 11, 8:30 p. m.—111th Street and Fifth Avenue. Speakers: Frank Crosswaith, Louis E. Weil, William Karlin.

Tuesday, Sept. 11, 8:30 p. m.—Fifth Street and Avenue C. Speakers: I. George Dobosevay, Molly Weingart.

Wednesday, Sept. 12, 8:30 p. m.—Seventh Street and Second Avenue. Speakers: Jessie Stephen, Henry Fruchter.

Thursday, Sept. 13, 8:30 p. m.—13th Street and Seventh Avenue. Speakers: Isidore Phillips, Louis E. Weil.

Thursday, Sept. 13, 8:30 p. m.—158th Street and Broadway. Speakers: McAllister Coleman, Samuel A. DeWitt, Max Delson.

Friday, Sept. 14, 8:30 p. m.—95th Street and Broadway. Speakers: Jessie Stephen, Ethelred Brown, Frank Crosswaith.

Saturday, Sept. 15, 8:30 p. m.—137th Street and Seventh Avenue. Speakers: Frank Crosswaith, Ethelred Brown.

BRONX

Friday, Sept. 7, 8:30 p. m.—169th Street and Boston Road. Speakers: I. George Dobosevay, Samuel Orr, Philip Pask.

Friday, Sept. 7, 8:30 p. m.—163rd Street and Tiffany. Speakers: Jessie Stephen, Henry Gross, Henry Fruchter.

Friday, Sept. 7, 8:30 p. m.—180th Street and Daly Avenue. Speaker: Isidore Phillips.

Saturday, Sept. 8, 8:30 p. m.—Wilkins and Intervale Avenues. Speakers: Samuel Orr, Samuel A. DeWitt, Henry Fruchter, Samuel H. Friedman.

Saturday, Sept. 8, 8:30 p. m.—163d Street and Prospect Avenue. Speakers: I. George Dobosevay, Morris Glnet, Frank Crosswaith.

Wednesday, Sept. 12, 8:30 p. m.—Kingsbridge Road and Morris Avenue. Speakers: Ethelred Brown, Louis Palkin, Isidore Polstein.

Thursday, Sept. 13, 8:30 p. m.—Bathgate and Tremont Avenues. Speakers: Samuel Orr, Jacob Bernstein, Ernest Bezouska.

Thursday, Sept. 13, 8:30 p. m.—Washington Avenue and Claremont Parkway. Speakers: Frank Crosswaith and others.

Friday, Sept. 7, 8:30 p. m.—Mermaid Avenue and 24th Street. Speakers: Isidore Korn and others.

Friday, Sept. 7, 8:30 p. m.—Brighton Beach, Lakeland Place near Boardwalk. Speakers: Frank Crosswaith, Joseph Tuvin.

Friday, Sept. 7, 8:30 p. m.—Bristol and Pitkin Avenues. Speakers: Louis P. Goldberg and others.

Friday, Sept. 7, 8:30 p. m.—Bushwick Avenue and Arion Place. Speakers: Jos. A. Weil, I. M. Chateauf, Ethelred Brown, S. Spindler, Samuel Block, Samuel Kantor and others.

Saturday, September 8, 8:30 p. m.—Havermev and South 2nd Streets. Speakers: Ethelred Brown, Harry Schachner, A. Baron.

Monday, September 10, 8:30 p. m.—Sutter and Hindsale. Speakers: Frank Crosswaith, Isidore Phillips.

3:00 Greg Sonata, violin and piano

3:20 Beatrice Valle Stories

4:00 Ridgewood Hour: Evelyn James, piano; Ethel Pfister, whistler, Selma Cahn, piano

5:00 Hints from Suzanne

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 14

1:00 Adelaide Olson, contralto

1:20 Helen Montrose, piano

1:40 Modern civilization, Dora Russell

2:00 Mary Linden, violin

2:20 Lydia Mason, piano

2:40 African Folk stories

3:00 Negro Art Hour

Lloyd Hickman, baritone

Marion Cumbo, cello

Selections from "Opportunity"

4:00 Scholl Hour

5:00 Joe Zimmerman, popular piano

5:30 Tea Time Tunes

11:00 Suzanne's House Party

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15

1:00 Editorials from Current Publications

1:30 Spect Period

Popular Hour: Evelyn Pearson, soprano; Al Page, baritone; Sam Edelman, piano

3:00 A. Basil Wheeler, Conflicts, Meaning of Current Events

3:20 Music

3:40 Joseph Tuvin, "War"

4:00 David Johnson, violin

4:20 Adelaide Olson, mezzo

4:40 Joseph Goltz. Further readings from the Oral History

5:00 Lydia Mason, piano

5:20 Dascha Albert, Dramatic Readings

5:40 Alice Carter, soprano

11:00 Eddie Farrell and Radio Rambles

Meeting of Socialist Women Monday, Sept. 10

On Monday evening, September 10th, at 8:30 P. M., a meeting will be held in the Peoples House, 7 East 15th Street, for the organization of a permanent Women's Committee and the formation of plans for a campaign to reach the women voters of Greater New York. This meeting is being called to order by temporary chairman, Hilda G. Claessens. All women members of the Socialist Party of N. Y. City are invited to attend. Comrade Jessie Stephen of the British Independent Labor Party, who is now in this country and is speaking during the presidential campaign, will be at this meeting and she will give an interesting talk on how our British comrades carry on propaganda and organization work among women and the secret of their success in enrolling hundreds of thousands of women.

Not only are all women invited but for that matter everybody who is interested is welcome to attend.

Dr. Chaffee at Community Church

Sunday, Sept. 9th, at 11 A. M. Rev. Edmund B. Chaffee, Director of the Labor Temple, will preach at the Community Church, Park Avenue and 34th Street. His subject will be "Politics and Preachers."

Monday, Sept. 10, 8:30 p. m.—Tompkins Avenue and Hart Street. Speakers: Ethelred Brown, Herman Greenblatt, Samuel H. Friedman.

Monday, Sept. 10, 8:30 p. m.—Kings Highway at 13th Street. Speakers: Wm. M. Feigenbaum, Jos. Tuvin, Jos. A. Weil.

Tuesday, Sept. 11, 8:30 p. m.—13th Avenue and 42nd Street and 64th Street and 20th Avenue. Speakers: Jessie Stephen, Carl Cummings, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, S. Stodel.

Tuesday, Sept. 11, 8:30 p. m.—Lee Avenue and Rodney Street. Speakers: Jacob Axelrad, Samuel H. Friedman, Harry Schachner, A. Baron.

Wednesday, Sept. 12, 8:30 p. m.—Bay Parkway and 69th Street. Speakers: Wm. M. Feigenbaum, Carl Cummings, S. Stodel.

Wednesday, Sept. 12, 8:30 p. m.—Summer and Floyd Streets. Speakers: Frank Crosswaith, H. Greenblatt, Samuel Friedman.

Thursday, Sept. 13, 8:30 p. m.—Port Hamilton Parkway and 45th Street. Speakers: Jos. A. Weil, Joseph Tuvin, Carl Cummings.

Thursday, Sept. 13, 8:30 p. m.—Hooper and South 3rd Streets. Speakers: Samuel H. Friedman, S. Stodel, S. P. Ulanoff, J. Reicher and Ralph Avenues. Speakers: J. A. Afros, Jessie Stephen.

Thursday, Sept. 13, 8:30 p. m.—Pennsylvania and Sutter Avenues. Speakers: Theodore Shapiro, D. Breslaw, Louis Epstein.

STATEN ISLAND

Saturday, September 8, 8:30 p. m.—Beach and Water Streets, Stapleton. Speakers: William Karlin, Walter Dear.

Saturday, September 15, 8:30 p. m.—Beach and Water Streets, Stapleton. Speakers: Jessie Stephen, Walter Dear.

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173 E. 2nd Broadway

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NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to
the Interests of the Socialist and
Labor Movement.

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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggle of the organized working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of the New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinion consistent with its declared purpose. Contributors are requested not to write on both sides of the paper and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

SAURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1928

The Fine Art of Bunk

BEFORE the extension of the suffrage to those without property, politics was a profession of gentlemen who said what they honestly believed. What we call "bunk" was unknown. When a politician represented the interests of a commercial class he said so. The same was true of the politician who represented a landed interest, a slavery interest or a merchant interest. Not till the complete emancipation of the capitalist class after the Civil War did "bunk" become the conspicuous article in American politics. It had been used before in moderate doses. It is now general.

Today a railroad politician does not represent a railroad interest. A power broker does not represent the super-power interests. A bank poodle does not represent financial interests. A corporation politician does not represent the capitalist class in general. Not at all. Each speaks for the "people," or for the flag, or for the nation or for some other abstraction, yet group and class interests are as apparent today as they were before universal suffrage.

In his recent book on *Political Behavior* Frank Kent devotes a chapter to what the capitalist politicians say and why they say it. Their biggest asset "is the fine art of seeming to say something without doing so" and they "would be consciously comfortable on either side of any issue." He adds that "absolute sincerity and a successful politician are utterly incongruous and impossible."

Why is that these gentlemen resort to drivel? Because the suffrage now includes millions whose welfare is in conflict with the capitalist class. The biggest capitalist magnate supporting Governor Smith is Raskob of General Motors. Suppose workers and farmers had no votes. In that case Smith could frankly make his appeals to the electric power interests, just as Webster once spoke for the commercial interest and later for the manufacturing interest. The same reasoning applies to Hoover.

This is the reason why the "fine art of seeming to say something without doing so" is practiced by the professionals. They represent various groups of the capitalist class but cannot be honest about it. Such honesty would bring a political revolution.

The Bus That Fails

SOME two hundred men and women, some supporters of Hoover and others supporting Smith, were swindled in Jersey City. They were all laborers with their families. Each group had purchased tickets which were to take them to a picnic at Keansburg, N. J., to boost their respective candidates. The buses that were to take them never appeared and the laborers returned home with their families.

Of course, neither Smith nor Hoover was responsible for the swindle, but the incident is symbolic of their parties. Each party is going to give the laboring class a big picnic if it wins. Laborers will have no more worries. Just use the tickets provided by the brokers and the happy workers will arrive at the great American picnic grounds. But the laborers never arrive at the glorious outing. The Raskobs, Butlers, Kennys, Olvans, Smiths, Hoovers, duPonts, Owens and their kind enjoy the picnic. And what a spread! Contracts, offices, franchises, sinecures, graft and everything to make a ruling class happy. As for the laborers, a liberal spread of injunctions, unemployment, wage cuts, farm bankruptcies and like fare.

The bus did not arrive for the New Jersey laborers although their tickets were as good as those provided by Smith and Hoover for use next November.

Looking for a bus ride, Henry?

"Let Them Slop Their Hogs"

THERE are two ways of looking at America, as some of the modern socialists have been pointing out. One is the city viewpoint. This regards the nation as a conglomeration of steel and brick and stone with farms and woodlands and mountains as a sort of extensive backyard.

The other and older viewpoint is that of the farmer who looks upon America primarily as a vast farm with the cities skirting its edges as clear-

ing-houses for the distribution of agricultural products.

It is because the city viewpoint is winning out and that all the rewards of the present capitalist set-up are being monopolized by the cities that there is a farm problem today. For that problem concerns itself not solely with the prices of corn and wheat and live stock. It is not merely a question of equalization fees and the like. It is a matter of viewpoint. No commission of "farm experts" such as Al Smith promises to call, if and when he is elected, can work out any scheme for the salvation of the farmer which persists in regarding him as a necessary but somewhat troublesome adjunct to the salesman, the promoter, the banker, the small-town babbler in general.

And this is exactly the way that the old-line politicians are approaching the farmer. Just now of course, he is to be back-scratched and hand-pumped for the sake of his vote next November. But the big and little business men who see to it that they collect the wealth produced by the workers on the farms and in the factories have in their hearts nothing but contempt for the "rubes."

The best manifestation of this contempt is in the platforms of both old parties. The vagueness of these windy platitudes on farm relief indicates to any shrewd observer that the old-party businessmen still believe that the farmers will fall for any old promise, no matter how far distant it may be from the rather grim realities of the present agricultural situation.

The "Practical" Voter

ONE of the things that takes the joy out of life for a Socialist, is the advice given him by "practical" folks before every election, that "it's no use throwing your vote away." We have had this advice thrust upon us for many years. Events prove that not only have our practical friends thrown their advice away, but their votes as well. We have failed to notice an epidemic of hoarseness among them after their party "won." The long line of "good men" they selected in the past, turned out to be no better than the parties that nominated them. Little wonder that the practical adviser turns out to be a cynic after a time.

The Socialist never throws his vote away because he is voting for an ideal, a principle, a movement. He votes for what he wants. He is proud for example, that he voted for Socialism when 'Gene Debs was its standard bearer. Are the practical voters proud of the fact that they have in the past voted for the candidates selected by Big Business? We nominate for the Hall of Incurable Visionaries, the practical workers who do not want to throw their votes away, and yet persist in doing so.

Poison Squads

THE poison squads of the two capitalist parties are pumping their drugs at high pressure into the newspaper offices throughout the country. We do not have in mind the ordinary publicity regarding their candidates and the "issues," although a flood of this is also evident. This is old stuff and it has its place in political warfare.

What we have in mind is the canned stuff that is provided as editorials for the small dailies and weeklies. We have a sample of the Republican output before us. One editorial bears the caption, "A Farm Boy Will Tackle the Farm Problem." Yes, it's Hoover in overalls and it is written to farmers who had to pawn their overalls. It is polyantha stuff regarding Hoover's return to West Branch, his boyhood home, and is intended to play up the "human" side of Herb.

Here is the great man "musing over the delights of boyhood days" and then changing to the great statesman. It seems strange to Herb that descendants of his boyhood chums "should rely on the federal government to help pull them out of the fire" and he proposes "to see whether the rugged characteristics of those who settled Iowa" are going to do such a hateful thing.

This will likely appear in many small dailies and weeklies as original stuff by the local editor. The Democrats will look after their drugs and thousands of readers of local sheets will have the opiates pumped into them. It is all canned, paid for and delivered because of the cash of the Raskobs, the Mellons and their ilk. The poison squad is an essential industry of the parties of capitalism.

Glimpsed in a Queens drug store: "Patronize our circulation library of excellent fiction." Prominently displayed is a biography of Al Smith, "Up From the City Streets."

H. Edmond Machold of Watertown, N. Y., whose water power connections of the past undoubtedly will be the target for verbal broadsides . . . was unanimously elected Republican State Chairman today.

Before his departure Governor Smith spent the morning in his own suite at the Democratic National Committee's headquarters in the General Motors Building.—Adjoining columns in the Brooklyn Eagle, August 24.

Slogan for faithful Republicans and Democrats: "Vote for God and Country and Super-power. Smith is Kept by General Motors; Machold by Water Power."

The oldest doorman stationed at the French Foreign Office is an old soldier who has seen much service in war. Recently Jules was asked his opinion of war and he answered: "It's like this, Monsieur. War is abominable, but the army! Ah, that's fine."

Wretched logic, to be sure, but it is of a piece with the labor man who follows open shop Raskob in politics. "Raskob is abominable, but Smith! Isn't he fine?"

Al Smith and his followers have been doing a lot of blustering about the "muddling" of those who want the world to know about his Tammany record when he was an Assemblyman, but you will notice that he has not yet defended that record. It would take a pretty strong stomach to stand for a typical Tammany record of 1904 and thereabouts.

We gather from his speech last Saturday that Charlie Curtis approves of the Republican Party. Maybe he reflects that no other party would have given a man like him a nomination for Vice-President.

From the
NEW LEADER
MAILBAG

Editor, The New Leader:

In the Daily Worker, Friday, July 20, I find the following blistering attack on the Socialist Party. It appears in a long article headed "U. S. Communist Party Denounces Lynching."

As a member of the Executive Committee American Negro Labor Congress (Philadelphia), I am calling your attention to the following statements printed in the Daily Worker:

"The Socialist Party is treacherous. It openly declared upon taking office in Reading, Pennsylvania, that it would maintain capitalist law and order."

"The Socialist leaders of the Pullman Porters have lined up with William Green, president of the A. F. of L."

"They have accepted the policy of segregation and non-organization of black workers advocated by Green and the reactionary officialdom of the trade unions."

"Randolph has openly declared for Smith, the candidate of the Democratic Party, the party of the southern lynchers. He has not even been rebuked or censured by the Socialist Party."

"In the South, the Socialist Party refuses to admit Negroes into its ranks and holds meetings at which the practices of Negro segregation are strictly enforced."

The A. N. L. C. Forum held every Sunday afternoon at Alliance Hall, 610 Sixth Street is constantly growing in numbers and influence. We are talking to scores of intelligent Negro workers who have a deep interest in the economic and political situation in this country at present. The Workers (Communist) Party are on the job here in Philadelphia reading above reports from soap box, mass meetings, etc.

Has the Socialist Party challenged such bitter attacks against it and disproved them? If so where can I get the Socialist Party reply. If not, why not?

Let me assure you that many white and black workers here are curious about his situation and that in their eyes the policy of "indignant silence" or "superior haughtiness" is palpably weak and tends to arouse doubts in their minds as to the political clarity or revolutionary integrity of the Socialist Party.

As the campaign grows hotter no doubt its sort of thing will come more to the front and the white and black workers especially our Negro co-workers and comrades are entitled to a clean cut, fearless statement by the Socialist Party.

With greetings and hoping for an early reply, I am,

Fraternally yours for Socialism,

A. J. CAREY.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Just why an intelligent person should pay any attention to this sort of thing on the Communist passes our comprehension. Not a week passes that this output from the Communist sewer does not appear. Why get excited about one cock's output? If we gave attention to it each week we would have little space for anything else.

Take some of the garbage which Mr. Carey notes in his letter. The Socialist Party has "accepted the policy of segregation and non-organization of black workers." Mr. Carey has his answer to this in many issues of The New Leader. The organization of the first local of the Pullman Porters The New Leader has given more space to their struggle than any other weekly in this country, both news and editorial space.

Then segregation. Time after time The New Leader has attacked the policy of racial discrimination and exclusion. The editor of The New Leader is also the author of a pamphlet, "The New Emancipation," more copies of which have been sold than any other pamphlet addressed to Negro workers and dealing with their social, economic and political problems. In one meeting addressed by Norman Thomas in Memphis, a few weeks ago the colored people were segregated by the theatre management until August Claessens arranged for seating the audience without discrimination as to color.

The Socialist Party in Reading declared that it "would maintain capitalist law and order." The party announced that it would enforce the law. Capitalist politicians had ignored the vile conditions related to prostitution which were spreading venereal diseases throughout the city. The Socialist Party proceeded to enforce the law. Big business dodged taxes and he burden was placed on working class homes. Reading Socialists decided to enforce the law and relieve the working class of a fiscal policy that was depriving many of their homes.

We shall not take up more space to consider the rest of the garbage. It is all of the same kind and we have something more important to do than to give attention to these adventures. If you in Philadelphia have not yet learned what the Communist movement is and can in any way be influenced by it we urge you to get into it. Get a stomach full. Others have tried the dose. Ask them. In all the history of the Labor movement in this and other countries no group has ever earned the hatred that the Communist movement has and that is why it is today an outcast among decent men and women. Try it if the experience of others is not satisfactory. Try it as the healthy man might try association with a leper on the ground that leprosy is not harmful.

We shall pay no more attention to the thing. It is dying all over the world and the working class will be the better off for it.—EDITOR.

Murphy To Speak On
Philosophy and Religion

Timothy P. Murphy will speak on "Philosophy and Religion" at the Ingersoll Forum, 113 West 57th Street, on Sunday, September 9, at 8 p. m. Admission free.

The Doves of Peace



The Powers Descend on Paris to Sign the Kellogg Pact

Flambo in The New Leader (London)

"To Your Knees, O Liberals!"
Croly Crawls Into the Al Smith Camp

By James Oneal

MR. HERBERT CROLY of the New Republic in a long and agonized editorial comes to the support of Governor Smith. Herbert oozes erudition. He reminds us of the college man who was shell-shocked and who stutters. He tries hard but sweats and pants in an agonized effort to make contradiction reconcile contradiction and is happy when it is all over.

Herbert is a "progressive." Two years before we proceeded to make the world safe for Democracy, Herbert used the columns of The New Republic to show Wilson how lovely everything would be if we got into the big fight. Finally we got into it. Herbert then gathered a large number of his editorials into a special supplement just to show that The New Republic had led American hosts into the path of righteousness in company with God.

The war ended and Herbert wept. Everything had gone wrong. Democracy had been thrown into jail. The peace was an abomination. The Allies had written the secret treaties into the Versailles Peace. Wilson had gone along with the European imperialists. Mobs had raged at home. Wilson had encouraged them with his "Woe to those who oppose use." Then deportations, red raids, Lusk, Ole Hanson, Fred Marvin, Archibald Stevens, Thaddeus Sweet, war graft, peace time censorship, raiding

Is This All Liberals Ask?

"A few specific concessions to progressivism on his (Hoover's) part would have had a disproportionate effect on public opinion and would have done much to lessen the lump of American politics. . . . There is no reason in the world why Herbert Hoover, if he had attached any importance to the support and good opinion of progressive voters, should not have thrown them an occasional bone to gnaw upon. They are in a properly chastened frame of mind and would not have asked for much. The course of Governor Smith has been the opposite of that of Mr. Hoover."

THE NEW REPUBLIC, Sept. 5.

of libraries for suspected books, doctoring history text books, terrorizing of teachers, the notorious A. Mitchell Palmer and his successor, Daugherty.

Sadder But Not Wiser

Yes, Herbert wept. Spattered with mud, he was a sad sight. But Herbert tries again. He decides to support Smith in a mood of "patient and watchful hesitation." That is dignified and erudite. "Watchful hesitation."

We did not fall for Herbert's hokum during the war and as Socialists our attitude was justified by what happened, but here is the Progressive Pontiff rising to declare that the cam-

paign of the Socialist Party candidate, Norman Thomas, lacks "political reality." Yes? Who was lacking in that reality during the reign of Woodrow?

We will not press the painful point as Herbert is already stuttering. He admits that the parties that nominated Hoover and Smith are "both stagnant pools of muddy political vegetation." Can one get something "progressive" out of something that is "stagnant?" Herbert stutters and goes on.

Hoover is eliminated because his party represents the "vested interests." What about Raskob and his cronies? Herbert is perspiring so we will not add to his discomfort. He believes that Smith "has been generous where Hoover has been niggardly" but Smith's party represents a "coalition of state political machines, without unity of conviction or vitality of impulse."

The Democratic Traditions

Looks rather bad for Smith's party. Most of his party members in Congress "generally supported the Coolidge policy in Nicaragua." It seems that the shadows are gathering around Smith and the shadows deepen when we are told that few of the Democratic Congressmen "have shown any scruples about giving the electric power combines all that they demand."

Smith is slipping into the depths by this time and Herbert reaches out and grabs the Tammany Sackman by the hair. He simply will not let his hero sink. Holding on to Al, Herbert says that maybe Al will "try to form a new party" because the present party is what Herbert says it is, a party "without unity of conviction or vitality of impulse."

Herbert gazes into Al's face and another thought comes. Perhaps Al won't form a new party. At least Herbert does not "anticipate" it. Al may depend upon some of the "traditions of the Democratic party." What traditions? Those associated with its support of slavery, or with Cleveland's breaking of the Pullman strike, or Palmer's sweeping injunction against the striking miners? Erudition does not help Herbert. He simply will not particularize. He prefers to stutter.

Embraces Al Smith

All of which appears to be a condemnation of Al and his party, but you are not a man of university training. Herbert is, and remember you are reading an editorial by a very learned man. Do you think that a man of his erudition would for a moment consider that Thomas person, the Socialist candidate whose campaign lacks political reality? What folly!

All of Herbert's stuttering leads him to pull Al out of the depths and to embrace him.

And there is "progressivism." Herbert mops his classic brow and turns to the cause of God and Tammany Hall. It was a terrible half hour, writing this learned editorial. You would stutter too if you had undertaken such a task.

Finally, Herbert sorrowfully remarks: "The Democracy is still open to conversion." So are you, Herbert, but we shall not try. We may try to raise roses in the ice packs of the Arctic Circle but when we confront your erudition we humbly shamble away, knowing that we are helpless in discussing issues with such a learned man.

Employers of All Lands, Unite!

IN THE past, employers' organizations

have grown up much later and more slowly than the trade unions, and in fact, the chief stimulus to their formation has hitherto been the steady rise of the trade unions. Still, so far as Europe is concerned, employers are now so closely associated that it may happen before very long that they will become shining examples to the trade unions of what association should be.

Immediately after the War, when the trade unions were going ahead so rapidly, employers' associations also made great advances, no doubt in order to counteract the alarming success of the trade unions in securing social right for their members and the working class in general. In a time like the present, when international trusts, cartels and other forms of international cooperation are dominating economic life, the conception of "class solidarity" is at least as effective among the employers as among the workers.

"L'Europe Nouvelle," a French magazine, has recently devoted a special number to tracing the growth of employers' associations and the same article proves very conclusively that the principle of international solidarity has gone ahead very rapidly among employers, who have developed out of small groups devoted to their own petty interests into mighty corporations. One of the contributors to this number declares that the voice of personal rivalries and purely selfish interests has now been silenced, and great well-coordinated federations have been founded, well-fitted to represent the whole of the employers against the great workers' organizations, and to offer public authorities the counsel and cooperation of a body which does truly stand for the employers in general.

Still more notable is the fact that it has been found possible to concentrate all the employers' organizations in the International Employers' Association, notwithstanding the variety of form, etc., which these take in different countries

and the differences between their political and religious views and their methods of handling economic and, still more, social questions, etc. In Holland, for instance, there are four employers' organizations, each of which represents a specific religious denomination (Calvinist, Catholic, etc.) in spite of which diversity they are able to maintain close touch with each other, to hold consultations on important questions and conflicts and to cooperate as a single section, entitled "Holland" in the International Organization.

Similarly, the International Association comprises various national associations representing Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Norway, Japan, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland and Yugoslavia. This close coordination enables the International Association to exert an enormous influence on the work of the International Labor Office. All those employers who are members of the I. L. O. Governing Body belong to the Executive of the International, and it is this Executive which determines the policy to be pursued individually by the employers' representatives on the Governing Body. "In all the meetings which are held before the opening of the sessions of the Governing Body of the I. L. O., the questions to be discussed at the I. L. O. are all dealt with and examined." The same applies to the items of the agenda of the International Labor Conferences. It is the Employers' International which prepares the work to be done by the employers' delegations.

Within the framework of the Employers' International, there is also a special association of the Danish, Swedish, Norwegian and Finnish employers. This group has already been cooperating for 20 years, and it maintains an office of its own in Brussels, the seat of the Employers' International.—THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.